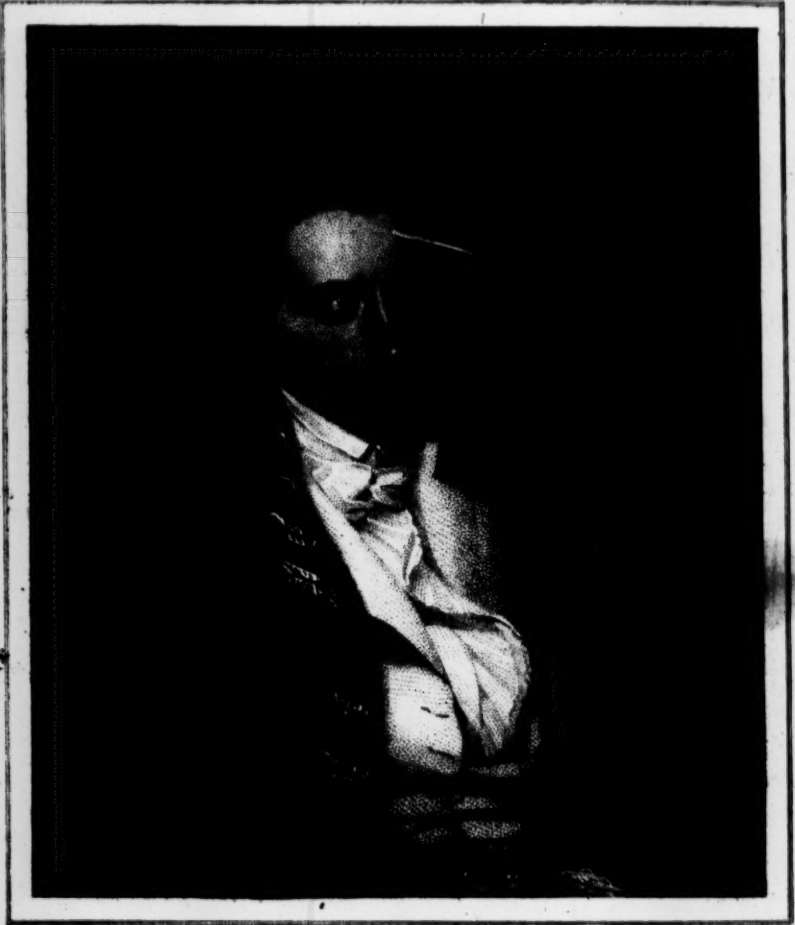




Engraved by W. Evans, from an original Picture by Robert Home, Esq.

HUGH BOYD ESQ!

Published December 4, 1799, by Cadell & Davies, Strand.

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THE
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF
HUGH BOYD,

THE
Author of the Letters of Junius.

WITH
AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,
BY
LAWRENCE DUNDAS CAMPBELL.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

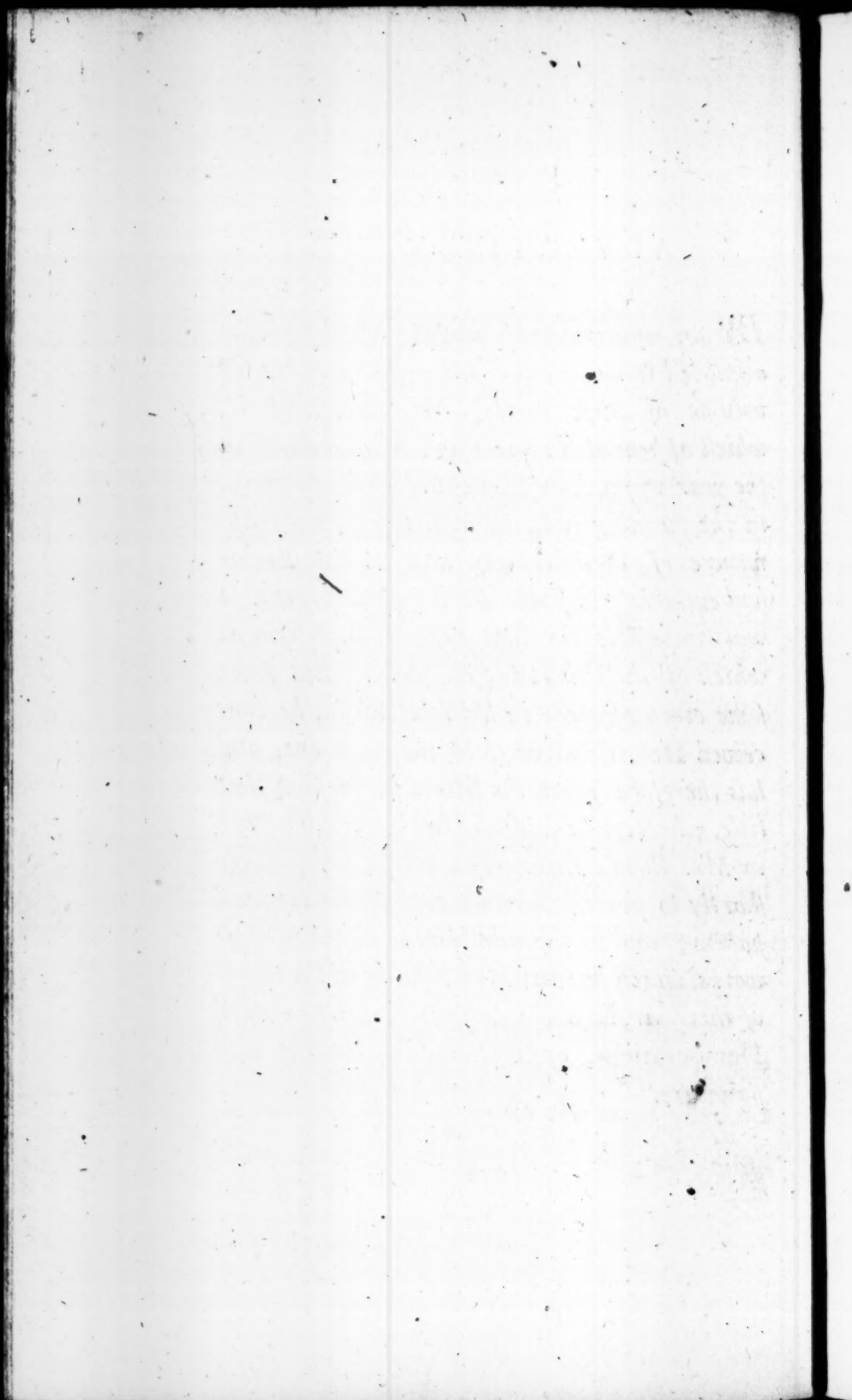
LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUNIOR, AND W. DAVIES,
IN THE STRAND ;
BY R. NOBLE, IN THE OLD-BAILEY.

1800.



ADVERTISEMENT.

BY an unaccountable mistake of the person employed to correct the proof sheets of the 1st volume of these works, Mr. Boyd's letters, which appeared in the Publick Advertiser in the year 1779, have been called Democraticus, in the running title, though they bear the signature of Democrates: and as the Editor had unluckily mislaid the original papers, it was impossible for him exactly to determine which of these titles to give them. But from some circumstances in his recollection, he conceived Democraticus to be the right one, and has therefore given the letters in question that title, wherever he had occasion to mention them in Mr. Boyd's Life. The Editor expects very shortly to procure another copy of the original papers; and in the additional volume to these works, which he intends publishing in the course of this year, he will inform the publick whether Democraticus, or Democrates, be the real signature.



P R E F A C E.

I Now present to the publick some part of the Miscellaneous Works of HUGH BOYD, THE AUTHOR OF JUNIUS, together with a full and accurate account of his Life and Writings. The first volume contains the greatest part of the political papers which he wrote between the years 1776 and 1781, his genuine Abstracts of two celebrated Speeches of the Great Earl of Chatham, and also a few Poems, which I publish merely to shew the versatility of his mind. The second volume comprises the Journal of his Embassy from the Government of Madras to the King of Candy, in the island of Ceylon,

lon, with some Letters relative thereto, and his Essays in the *Indian Observer*.

His political papers are extremely interesting, not only from their striking similitude to the letters of *Junius*, but from their own intrinsic merit. The memorable Speeches of the Earl of Chatham, are here rendered the more valuable, from the uncommon precision with which they are given, and the masterly and eloquent Preface by which they are illustrated. The Journal of his Embassy to Candy, is a tract of no inconsiderable importance in the history of British India, and will therefore be useful to every person connected with that country: nor will it be unentertaining to the publick at large, as well from the character of its author, as from the neatness and vivacity of its style. In the Preface to the Journal, I have endeavoured to supply that information respecting the island of Ceylon, which it was Mr. Boyd's intention to have written,
and

and which will, I hope, be found no less instructive than it is necessary. The Letter annexed to the Journal, gives a lively account of his capture by the French fleet, and of his subsequent imprisonment in the islands of *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*. This letter exhibits a specimen of Mr. Boyd's familiar style, which is easy, unaffected, and perspicuous. The Essays in the *Indian Observer*, though not to be compared in point of literary excellence with the highly-finished productions of his early and more studious years, are nevertheless worthy of being ranked among them, both on account of their principles and sentiments, and of the elegant, if not nervous language, in which these are clothed.

Such are the Miscellaneous Writings of Mr. Boyd, contained in these volumes, and such are their respective claims to the notice of the publick. In the course of the present year, I propose to publish an additional volume, consisting of the Letters signed *Lucius* and

and *Brutus*, which Mr. Woodfall acknowledges to have been written by *Junius*, and of several others of Mr. Boyd's, that appeared at different times in the *Publick Advertiser*.

The Portrait that accompanies these Works, was engraved from an original picture, for which Mr. Boyd sat (a few years previous to his death) to Mr. R. HOME *; and as it is a spirited and faithful representation of a countenance, which many Readers may be curious to see, I have thought it necessary to publish it.

With regard to the narrative of Mr. Boyd's Life, it will be found to differ in many particulars from the short account prefixed to a former edition of the *Indian Observer*. When I wrote that account, my materials were both scanty and imperfect: but the circumstances that are now related,

* Mr. HOME is a brother of Mrs. HUNTER's, relict of the celebrated JOHN HUNTER.

have been communicated to me from the most unquestionable authorities.

The delineation of his character, written at a time when all its minutest features were distinctly present to my mind, I have not altered in any essential part, though I have corrected some blemishes of style, which in the first draught had escaped my notice.

Of the investigation concerning *Junius*, I deem it requisite, most solemnly to aver, that I have not adduced a single fact or circumstance, but what I can substantiate on positive and creditable evidence; and I am persuaded that I have not drawn a single inference but what is strictly just.

In the course of this inquiry, I have been not a little indebted to Mr. ALMON, whose information and experience enabled him to furnish me with some interesting particulars, which I could not have obtained from any other person, and which strongly corroborate the testimony of Mrs. BOYD.

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The whole together constitutes a mass of evidence, than which nothing more convincing can reasonably be expected, or perhaps ever attained in this question. The only additional proof that there is any probability of procuring, is the manuscript of *Junius*, which if Mr. H. S. Woodfall shall choose to produce, I will submit fac-similes of it, and of Mr. Boyd's hand-writing, together, to the publick. This I conceive to be a fair and candid proposal to Mr. Woodfall, which if he *does not meet*, every man of sense will know what conclusion to form; but which if he *does meet*, will incontestibly prove to those, who have not leisure to consider facts and circumstances, and who cannot consequently be satisfied with the deductions of reasoning, that the manuscript of *Junius* was actually written by Mr. Boyd.

As to those who have raised an ignorant and vulgar clamour against his abilities, I do not expect, much less do I desire, to convince

convince them of a fact, on which they seem so ill qualified to decide. Neither is there much chance, that the proofs I have brought forward, will be powerful enough to influence another class of readers, whose minds are already shut against conviction, and whom a false prejudice has predetermined not to believe this fact, unless it shall be established by absolute demonstration. Yet when Time, which resolves all things, shall have worn down these stubborn opinions, I cannot doubt but all men of judgment will admit, that MR. BOYD WAS THE AUTHOR OF JUNIUS.

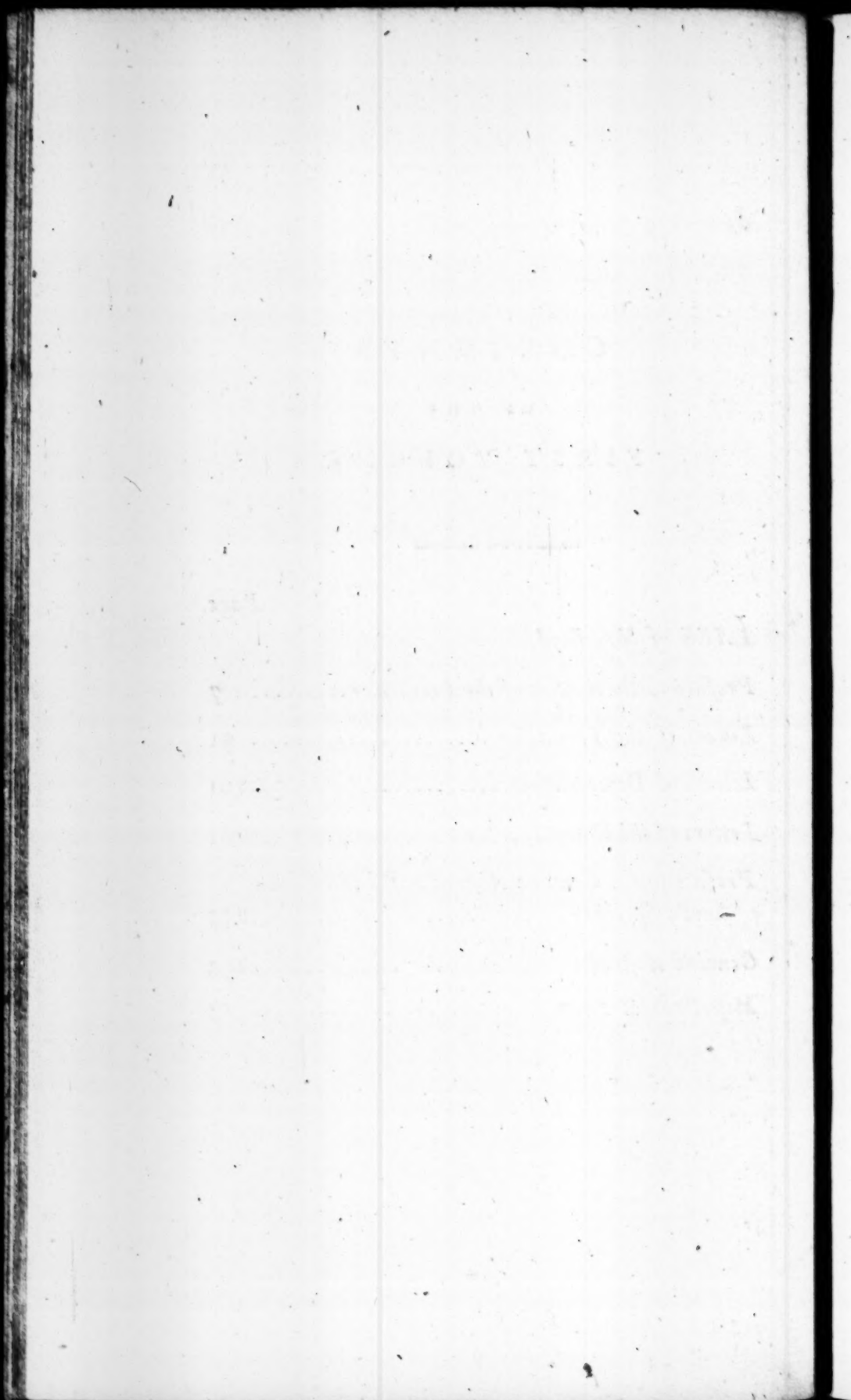
In the mean while, however, I trust every unbiaſſed mind will agree with me on this point; and if I ſhall, thereby, be enabled to tranſmit the memory of my Friend to poſterity, along with thoſe literary honours which his genius has won, I ſhall look back with a grateful remembrance to the inſtructive
hours

hours which I passed in his society, and with the heart-felt satisfaction of having proved myself worthy of his friendship.

Paddington,
18th February, 1800.

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ERRATA.

- In Vol. I. p. 167, line 3, for *filset*, read *scilicet*.
p. 170, line 10, for *commis*, read *comes*.
p. 171, line 17, for *intertia*, read *inertia*.



THE LIFE
OF
HUGH BOYD,
BY
LAWRENCE DUNDAS CAMPBELL.

VOL. I.

a

THE LIFE

OF

HUGH BOYD

LAWRENCE BOWMAN, M.D.

2

VOL. I.

THE LIFE
OF
HUGH BOYD.

HUGH BOYD was the second son of **ALEXANDER MACAULEY, Esq.** of the county of Antrim, in Ireland, who had long been the intimate friend of **DEAN SWIFT***.

Mr.

* **SWIFT** appointed **Mr. MACAULEY** one of the executors of his Will, in which he speaks of him in the following terms :

" Item : I bequeath to **Alexander Macauley, Esq.**
" the gold box in which the freedom of the city of
" **Dublin** was presented to me, as a testimony of the
" esteem and love I have for him, on account of his
" great learning, fine natural parts, unaffected piety and
" benevolence, and his truly honourable zeal in defence
" of the legal rights of the clergy, in opposition to all
" their unprovoked oppressors."

See SWIFT'S WILL, in the 12th vol. of his works.

Mr. Macauley was bred to the law, and having very early distinguished himself at

This eulogium appears, from all accounts, to have been very justly merited. Few men of his time, were more universally esteemed in Ireland, than Mr. Macauley. Nor was he unknown to people of the first distinction in England. He had been patronized by FREDE-
RICK, PRINCE OF WALES, to whom he was introduced by the *good* LORD LYTTLETON. As a practical lawyer, he is said to have been so conscientious, that he always refused to be retained in an iniquitous cause. It is also related of him, that when BALDWIN was Provost of Dublin College, one of the fellows, a man of rank and great influence, was to be expelled from it, for some very glaring impropriety. The gentleman knowing Mr. Macauley's interest with Baldwin, solicited the former, in the most earnest manner, to intercede in his behalf; promising, that if he prevailed on Baldwin to mitigate the punishment, he should get him (Mr. Macauley) appointed a senior judge on the first vacancy, and his wife's uncle made a bishop. But Mr. Macauley rejected his offers, and refused to interfere, saying, "he had too high an opinion of Baldwin, to suppose he would ever punish unjustly."

The pen-knife, with which the assassin Guiscard attempted to murder the celebrated HARLEY Earl of OXFORD, was given by his Lordship to Swift, some years after that event took place. Swift gave it to Mr. Macauley, who, after Swift's death, used to keep it in the gold box mentioned above; but on Mr. Macauley's demise, neither the box nor knife could be found.

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the Irish bar, he was first appointed one of the King's counsel, and afterwards judge of the consistory court of Dublin. At the time of his death he had a seat in the Irish House of Commons, and was, through his whole life, much esteemed for his talents and virtues. He married Miss Boyd, the daughter of Hugh Boyd, Esq. of Ballycastle, in the same county; a gentleman of plentiful fortune and great respectability. By this lady, Mr. Macauley had two sons and two daughters. HUGH, the youngest of his sons, and the subject of this narrative, was born at Ballycastle, in the county of Antrim, the family seat of his maternal grandfather, in the month of October 1746, where he continued during his infancy.

The circumstances of his being named after his grandfather, of his living under his care until he was four years old, and of his shewing, even at that age, strong indications of talents, endeared him to the old gentleman, who beheld the dawn of his genius with mingled emotions of pleasure and pride; and who used frequently to say, "Hugh will become a great man!"

The

The pleasure which every man of sensibility and reflection receives from contemplating the gradual expansion of the infant mind, renders him prone to magnify the force and merit of those smart, and often just observations, which sprightly children occasionally make. And the parent, or friend, who is employed in the delightful task of "teaching the young idea how to shoot," views whatever is commendable, or fascinating in the darling object of his care, with an eye so full of pride and affection, as to be blinded to every defect, and to see every beauty through a microscope. Hence parents are led to cherish the flattering hope of future excellence in their children, in which they are so frequently deceived. And hence we are apt to mistake those sharp flashes of vivacity which, sometimes, sparkle in the morning of life, for that broad effulgence which precedes the ascension of genius. That no accurate judgment of the understanding can be formed from the lively sallies of youth, experience sufficiently proves. Innumerable instances might be adduced, in which boys, who displayed the
most

most vigorous as well as brilliant parts at school, became weak and frivolous when they mixt with the world; and in some cases, indeed, forgetting their early acquirements, have passed through life, noticed only for their ignorance, imbecility, or dullness. Few men have shewn any real indications of abilities before the age of sixteen, when the mind begins to reflect on its own operations, and to arrange the ideas it has received.

There are, however, two anecdotes related of Mr. Boyd, while he was a boy, which deserve to be mentioned, as they seem to justify the opinion his grandfather entertained of him; and as they mark the first growth of that spirit, and those sentiments which animated and distinguished him through life.

Mr. Boyd had an insatiable thirst for information, from his earliest infancy; and as soon as he was taught to read, which was at five years old, he became fond of books, and used to read all he could lay his hands on. He was scarce six years old, when reading Vertot's History of the Revolutions

lutions of Sweden, one evening in a retired corner of the drawing-room, he suddenly exclaimed, "I shall never forgive Gustavus!" The vivacity with which he expressed his disapprobation, attracted the notice, and excited the laughter and admiration of the company, one of whom asked him, how the Swede had offended him?—"He has taken the crown," answered Hugh; "I hope, Sir," answered his friend, (who was an old soldier) "you do not dislike kings?" "Not always," replied the boy, "but I thought Gustavus had conquered for the *people*, instead of which I now find it was for *himself*."

Soon after this occurrence, another little incident took place, which, however trivial it may seem to the generality of my readers, merits attention as being highly characteristic of Mr. Boyd; and as serving to shew, that the playfulness and humour with which, during his whole life, he used to assuage anger and parry an attack, and which must be still fresh in the recollection of all who knew him, was a natural felicity of disposition, rather than an acquired politeness.

ness. He had been one day playing marbles, and eager at his sport, did not observe the approach of the dinner hour, and had neglected to wash his hands. On being called into the parlour, he was going to place himself at table, when his mother, observing his brown knuckles, ordered him to retire, for he had dirty hands. "It is only a little dust, madam, (said Hugh) for my father and I have always clean hands, uncontaminated by *base bribes*." He was of course permitted to sit down; and obtained, in the approving smiles of his parents, an earnest of the future meed of his large honour,—the applause of the wise and virtuous.

He began to *pun* while he was yet in his childhood; and he often punned so aptly, that he both surprised and amused his friends. This propensity stuck to him through life.

He has himself told me of his early predilection for literature and politicks. That he had made but little progress at school, when he felt the inspirations of fancy; which he did not indulge like the common
run

run of sprightly boys, by making Latin verses to his master, but by writing political letters, and sending them to his father.

“Not to name,” says Dr. Johnson, “the school, or the masters of men, illustrious for literature, is a kind of historical fraud, by which honest fame is injuriously diminished.” I am therefore happy at being now able to trace Mr. Boyd through the process of his education. After being instructed in the first rudiments of knowledge by his father, whose ample acquirements and mild authority so well fitted him for the task; he was sent to the well-known and respectable school of Mr. Ball, in Dublin. At this school he first became acquainted with the celebrated Mr. Henry Grattan, who, though two years older, pursued his studies in the same class, where their early admiration of each other’s talents, gave birth to that friendship which ever afterwards subsisted between them. It is worthy of being remarked, as an honour to the excellent tuition of Mr. Ball, that the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the late Mr. Forbes, together with many other gentlemen, eminent

ment for their literary acquirements, were also educated under his auspicious care.

At this school Mr. Boyd made great proficiency in his studies; and his astonishing memory, no less than his prompt discernment, and fine taste, excited the admiration of all who knew him. Yet the praises which were lavished upon him, did not infuse into his disposition any thing of that vanity or petulance, which estranges a boy from the love of his school-fellows: his unassuming manner, together with his gentle but manly and ardent spirit, made him alike the favourite of his companions, and his master.

So early as the age of fourteen he was placed at the Trinity College, Dublin, and was entered a gentleman commoner of that seminary at the November term in 1760. About this time he became known to the late Mr. Flood, who was then the greatest ornament of the Irish House of Commons; and whose eloquence first produced in Mr. Boyd's mind that desire of attending parliamentary debates which so much distinguished his future life. The attention with which he used to listen to Mr. Flood's private

vate conversation, and the accurate reports which he used to make of his publick speeches, induced that accomplished man to cherish those rising talents, which, in their maturity, he continued to befriend.

At college, he was as much remarked for his facility of acquiring, as for his power of retaining knowledge. Without seeming to attend to any thing but the pleasures of society, he made very considerable advances in literature and science; and in classical learning he was equalled by few, and surpassed by none of his fellow-students. He possessed, indeed, many peculiar advantages in the course of his studies. His father, who was himself a man of great information, attended to the cultivation of his son's mind with the utmost care, and spared no expence whatever in his education; for he appointed as his tutors, first Mr. Marten, and then Mr. Kearney, both men of literary eminence at that time in Dublin, and of great respectability in private life. Mr. Marten used to characterize his pupil, by saying, "that he united the meekness of the lamb, with the spirit of the lion."

In

In 1765, he took his degree of Master of Arts; and his grandfather, Boyd, whose affection for him grew with his years, wished him to enter into the Church: but the death of that virtuous and venerable man, which happened the same year, induced him to turn his thoughts to a profession more congenial to the native vivacity of his mind. He accordingly fixed on the army; but his father being desirous he should go into the infantry, and he preferring the cavalry, some delay in consequence took place, and before the matter was decided, Mr. Macauley died in 1766, of an illness of only a few days: and no WILL being found among his papers, Mr. Boyd was left totally unprovided for, the whole of the family estate being settled by right of inheritance on the eldest son.

As this sudden and unexpected loss dashed his hopes of rising in the army, he relinquished his design of pursuing that line of life; and his attachment to literature and politicks led him to choose the law, as the profession, with which, above all others, his favourite studies were the most intimately connected,

connected, and in which, therefore, he could attend to them, without neglecting his duty.

With these views, he left his native country, a few months after the death of his father, and came to London, in search of fortune and fame. In hopes of procuring the patronage of the late Marquis, then Earl of Hertford, to whom his father had rendered many important and acknowledged services, he called at his Lordship's house, shortly after his arrival. But that noble lord was possessed of such peculiar *delicacy of feeling and sentiment*, that he shrunk from an interview with the son of his deceased friend; who frequently waited on him without once gaining admittance to his presence. The *worthy* earl's behaviour, however, appeared no way surprising to Mr. Boyd, whose early acquaintance with the world had enabled him to form a competent judgment of the motives and actions of men. He was little discouraged, therefore, by this circumstance; and the respectability of his family, together with the elegance of his deportment, as well as the insinuating politeness of his address, soon procured him an introduction

duction into the gay circles of fashionable life; nor was he long unnoticed in the literary sphere. He became acquainted with Goldsmith, Doctor Armstrong, and David Garrick, who had then reached the summit of their fame, and with whom he ever afterwards continued in habits of intimacy. About this time he also became acquainted with the celebrated Mrs. Macauley, to whose husband he was related. Charmed with his wit and talents, she frequently invited him to her house, and there he had constant opportunities of mixing in the conversation of the most distinguished geniuses of the age. In fashionable society he was first noticed by Lord Effingham, Lord Verney, and Sir Francis Delaval, and afterwards by the old Duke of Ancaſter, and the Earl of Aſhburnham. His great ſkill at the game of cheſs, added to his other acquirements, made the two laſt-mentioned noblemen court his company with the utmoſt ſolicitude; and through them he was elected a member of the well-known cheſs-club to which they belonged, and of which he ſoon became the next beſt player to Count Bruhl,

the

the Saxon Envoy. He was so great a favourite of the old Duke's, that he was always asked to the splendid and sumptuous dinners, which his Grace took such delight in giving. At one of these entertainments, he chanced to sit next to Soame Jenyns, with whose conversation he was so much gratified, that when the rest of the company adjourned at an early hour to the chess-room, as it was the Duke's custom, he whispered to Jenyns, that a bottle of *old port* might tend as much to make them better known to each other, as a game at chess:—Jenyns readily took the hint, and the evening was spent very much to their mutual satisfaction.

Yet this mode of life did not seduce him from his books. He cultivated politicks and polite literature with the utmost assiduity: and if he bestowed not an equal attention on the severer studies of the law, it is to be attributed partly to the liveliness of his fancy, and partly to the necessity he was under of providing for the day that was passing over him, rather than to any want of application.

The

The inborn generosity of his mind, together with his exquisite sensibility, prompted him to acts of benevolence, which his scanty and precarious income was ill suited to supply; and before he had been a year in London, he was involved in pecuniary entanglements, from which, alas! he was never at any period of his life to be entirely released. The perplexed state of his mind, however, soured not the sweetness of his disposition, nor clouded his wonted gaiety. All his sorrows were locked fast in his breast, and no one could discover, either by his countenance, or his manners, that he laboured under the smallest uneasiness.

This happy suavity of temper, joined to his dignified urbanity and chastened humour, rendered him an universal favourite among the fair sex. Nor was he unmindful of their admiration. He paid his addresses to Miss MORPHY, a young lady altogether worthy of his noble mind, and after an acquaintance of one year and some weeks, he married her in December 1767. By this marriage his circumstances were made somewhat easier, as Miss Morphy possessed a

VOL. I. *b* handsome

handsome competency, and as her good sense and many amiable qualities often availed to moderate, if not to restrain those extravagancies to which he was unfortunately so prone.

Through his marriage he became known to the three Mr. Nesbets, who were Mrs. Boyd's guardians, and to their nephew the present Mr. John Nesbet, member for Gatton, as well as to the late Mr. Robert Cooper Lee. To the two last-mentioned gentlemen, Mr. Boyd was under the greatest obligations, and the active friendship which they on all occasions manifested for him, deserves the highest praise.

About this period he also fell into the acquaintance of the late Mr. JOHN STUART, of Hampstead, a gentleman who possessed a mind congenial to his own, whose ardent and disinterested friendship knew no bounds but virtue and honour, and whose affection for him continued to glow with undiminished warmth to the last moment of his life*.

Perhaps

* The talents, no less than the virtues of Mr. STUART, would have entitled him to my particular praise, if grati-

Perhaps there never was a friendship more durable and sincere, than that which subsisted

tude for his friendly attentions towards me did not call forth the warmest tribute of my heart.

He was descended from the respectable family of Sir Simeon Stuart, who were a branch of the royal stem of the Stuarts, and who came to England with JAMES the First, and settled in Northamptonshire, in which county his father resided, and he was born. He was sent to school at Northampton, and afterwards studied physic at Edinburgh, where he took his degree as Doctor of Medicine. On his return to England, he was appointed one of the physicians to the army in Canada, under General Wolfe, and was present at the battle of Quebec. He had lived on terms of friendship with that distinguished general, and his regard for him was so strong, that he never talked of his eminent abilities, and early, but glorious death, without tears in his eyes. Upon the conclusion of the war in 1763, he settled at Philadelphia in the line of his profession, and entered into partnership with Mr. Lauchlin Maclean, who was afterwards secretary to Lord Shelburne. In this business they were very successful, and would have acquired an immense fortune, if an affair of gallantry between Maclean and one of their *fair patients*, had not obliged them to make a precipitate retreat across the Atlantic. On their arrival in England they kept house together in London, and lived for some time in a very splendid style: but Maclean, who was not yet satisfied, gambled both in the Alley and in St. James's street, and not only spent his own fortune, but so severely injured

subsisted between these two accomplished men.

In

Mr. Stuart's, as to render it necessary for him to retrench his expences, and totally alter his mode of life. About this time he travelled into France for the recovery of his health, and while at Paris, he became acquainted with David Hume and Adam Smith, who then resided there, and who introduced him to the celebrated Literary Society of which Voltaire and D'Alembert were the most distinguished members. On his return to England he fell into the acquaintance of Mr. Laurence Sullivan, who so often filled the chair at the India House; and through his interest was much employed in Indian affairs. He now relinquished his original profession; and having still a handsome fortune, he took a house at Hampstead, with about six acres of ground adjoining to it, which he formed into a garden, and laid out with exquisite taste. To this place he was extremely attached, and here he chiefly resided during the remainder of his life, enjoying the society of friends respectable for their understanding, learning, and virtues, and living with a degree of complacency and happiness which human frailty very rarely attains. In December 1798, he was seized with a severe complaint in his lungs, which, after a few weeks, proved fatal, and he died in the beginning of January following, in the 65th year of age.

He was a man of a tall and graceful figure, dignified in his deportment, and elegant in his mien; of a countenance open, animated, and cheerful, uncommonly engaging when relaxed by gaiety, pleasant even when overcast
by

In the summer of 1768, Mr. Boyd went to Ireland for a few months, on some private

by care. Those who knew him fifty years ago, used to say he was the handsomest man they had ever seen; and though age and sickness had enfeebled his constitution, the alteration which they had made in his appearance was wonderfully slight.

He possessed a vigorous and highly cultivated understanding, a quick and accurate discernment, a sound and discriminating judgment, a lively fancy, a tenacious memory, and a refined taste. His acquirements were very extensive and various. He was equally skilled in the physical and moral sciences, in abstruse learning, and in the fine arts. In most subjects he was deeply read, of every one he had a general knowledge. Having mixt much with the world, he had attained great proficiency in the important study of human life, and his observations on men and manners, though sometimes severe, were, for the most part, just, striking, and forcible. His conversation was at once pleasing and instructive, and he used to relate anecdotes, of which he had an inexhaustible store, with a peculiar felicity and ease. His manners were polished, affable, and insinuating, and though his temper was somewhat irritable, yet was his disposition mild and placable, and his heart susceptible of the utmost tenderness. He uniformly practised the most prompt and liberal charity, regulated by an enlightened prudence, and a dignified economy. In his mode of life he was alike distant from extravagance and parsimony; he was too considerate to fall into the one, too generous not to despise the other. It

was

vate business. During his stay in Dublin, he was constantly in the company of Mr. Flood, who, on that, as on every other occasion, shewed him the greatest possible attention, and who thought so highly of his abilities, that he every where talked of him as a prodigy of genius.

At this period political parties ran very high in Ireland, and the newspapers were filled with controversies, in which men of the first talents in the kingdom were engaged. One evening, while Mr. Flood sat at his own table, after dinner, entertaining a large company, *of which Mr. Boyd was one*, he received an anonymous note, enclosing a letter on the state of parties, signed SINDERCOMBE. The note contained a request, that Mr. Flood would peruse the enclosed letter, and that if it met his approbation, he

was his chief ambition to maintain independence, to be of use to his friends, and to relieve indigent merit wherever he met it. And at the close of his long and well-spent life, it appeared to me, that his virtuous ambition was completely satisfied. Cared by his friends, admired by his acquaintance, and beloved by his servants and dependents, his death was deeply regretted by all who knew him, and his memory lives in their estimation.

would

would get it published. Mr. Flood read it to the company, who declared, with one burst of applause, that it should be sent immediately to the printer. It consequently appeared in a morning paper*, and produced

* Notwithstanding my most diligent inquiries, I have not been able to find the particular Paper in which this letter appeared ; and I have consequently spoken of its merits from the opinion of others.

Those who were not particularly conversant with our history during the commonwealth, were at a loss to discover what the author alluded to, by adopting the signature of *Sindercombe*, and Boyd used to shew great anxiety to explain it to them, whenever the subject was talked of. *Sindercombe* was a person who had undertaken to murder OLIVER CROMWELL, but who was prevented from executing his purpose by several unaccountable accidents. At last CROMWELL discovered him, and he was tried, convicted, and condemned ; but the voice of the people was raised so high in his favour, that the *Protector* deemed it prudent to dispatch him privately, and he was found dead in his bed on the morning which had been appointed for his execution. CROMWELL artfully gave it out, that *Sindercombe* had poisoned himself, lest the people should take the alarm : but it appears evident, from the concurrent testimony of the most respectable writers of that time, that CROMWELL had given *Barkstead* positive orders to smother him in bed. HUME treats this subject rather more lightly than it deserves, and gives credit to the story
of

duced a very strong sensation on the public mind, as well from the clear and forcible reasoning

of the poison. The famous *Colonel Titus*, in his spirited little pamphlet, intitled *Killing no Murder*, bestows the following eulogium on *Sindercombe*.

“The brave *Sindercombe* has shewn as great a mind, as any old Rome could boast of; and had he lived there, his name had been registered with *Brutus* and *Cato*, and he had his statues as well as they.

“But I will not have so sinister an opinion of ourselves (as little generosity as slavery hath left us) as to think so great a virtue can want its monuments even among us. Certainly in every virtuous mind, there are statues reared to *Sindercombe*. Whenever we read the elogies of those that have died for their country; when we admire those great examples of magnanimity, that have tired tyrants cruelties; when we extol their constancy, whom neither bribe nor terrors could make betray their friends, it is then we erect *Sindercombe* statues, and grave him monuments; where all that can be said of a great and noble mind, we justly make an epitaph for him: and though the tyrant caused him to be smothered, lest the people should hinder an open murder, yet he never will be able to smother his memory, or his own villany. His poison was but a poor and common device, to impose only on those that understood not tyrants practices, and are unacquainted (if any be) with his cruelties and falsehoods. He may, therefore, if he please, take away the stake from *Sindercombe*'s grave, and if he have a mind it should be known how he died, let him send thither the pillows and feather beds with
which

reasoning it contained, as from the uncommon beauty and energy of its style. Every endeavour was made, without effect, to discover the author. That Flood suspected Mr. Boyd is extremely probable; but I know not that he ever hinted such a suspicion to any one. Mrs. Boyd always thought that Sindercombe was her husband's production, from several circumstances which no one else possessed the means of observing; and many years afterwards, she was satisfied that her conjecture was founded in fact: though Mr. Boyd himself, never, either acknowledged or denied, that he was the author. This doubtless was his first attempt at preserving that secrecy in his political writings, in which he was always so successful, as well as his first essay in that species of literary composition, in which he afterwards so much excelled.

which *Barkstead* and his hangman smothered him. But to conclude, let not this monster think himself the more secure that he has suppressed one great spirit, he may be confident that *longus post illum sequitur ordo idem petentium decus.*"

A few

A few days subsequent to the publication of Sindercombe, Mr. Boyd returned to London; and in the autumn of 1768, he took a house in Great Marlborough-street, in which he lived for some years in a very genteel style, though he never had yet been set free from the pecuniary encumbrances with which, since the death of his father, he had been constantly harrassed. About this time, however, he received some small addition to his income, by the death of his cousin Adam Boyd. His grandfather Boyd, had, in his will, bequeathed to him, failing of his cousin, a freehold estate, in the county of Antrim, on the condition, enjoined in the strictest manner, of changing his name from Macauley to Boyd. In conformity, therefore, with the will of his grandfather, he now adopted the name of Boyd, and became possessed of this estate, the gross rental of which amounted to £600 *per ann.*; but the several annuities with which it was burthened, together with the litigations to which some of them gave rise, reduced that sum to a mere trifle, and the estate being entailed

entailed to the heirs male of his body, he could neither sell any part of it, nor even grant a single security upon it, in order to liquidate those debts that were in the first instance contracted by the unfortunate necessities, and peculiar hardships of his early youth.

Yet these were matters which gave him hardly any concern. He was ever more anxious about the affairs of his friends, than his own: and he has frequently plunged himself into difficulties, to save the credit, or to relieve the distress of the man he loved. A mind so constituted, was not to be ruffled by ordinary adversities; and blessed beyond most men in the matrimonial connection he had formed, he enjoyed the utmost serenity amidst the storms of life, and the greatest content and happiness, notwithstanding the vexations and embarrassments by which he was surrounded.

It was this tranquil and easy temper, no less than his sanguine constitution, that enabled him to call into action all the spirit and vigour of his mind, whenever he thought proper to exert them, and at the same

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same time to bestow the most watchful attention and pertinacious diligence, on whatever business he was induced to undertake. But his early attachment to politicks became every day more strong, and neither the hope of emolument, nor the earnest entreaties of his friends, could incite him to pursue the law professionally, though he had attained considerable knowledge both of its principles and practice. He, therefore, dedicated his whole time to politicks and literature; and towards the latter end of the year 1768, he commenced a correspondence with the daily paper, entitled the *Publick Advertiser*, at that time conducted by Mr. HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL, which he kept up with the greatest caution, and the most impenetrable secrecy, for three years and some months. The nature and purport of this correspondence he never disclosed to any one of his friends, not even to Mrs. Boyd; and he died in possession of his secret. Mrs. Boyd, however, has long been convinced, from a variety of strong concurring circumstances, that this secret was nothing less than his being the writer
of

of those celebrated Letters which appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*, under the signature of JUNIUS, during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and in January 1772.

This being a matter, not only of great importance to Mr. Boyd as a writer, but also, of no small curiosity in the History of English Literature, I have thought it incumbent on me to fathom it with the utmost attention; to investigate every channel of intelligence connected with it, and finally, to ascertain whether the supposition, that he was the author of the letters of *Junius*, be founded in truth. The sum of my inquiries impresses me with the firmest conviction that Mr. Boyd was, in reality, the writer of those letters; for although there be no direct positive proof, yet are the internal, as well as circumstantial evidence so strong, that no candid man of taste or judgment will deny me the conclusion I have drawn.

This subject has already been noticed by Mr. ALMON, in his "Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes," and it has been slightly touched upon in the Preface to a former edition of Mr. Boyd's Life. Since
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the publication of these works, Mr. GEORGE CHALMERS * has informed the public, that "he has collected documents † which completely satisfy him that Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius*;" and this declaration of Mr. Chalmers gave rise to a ‡ controversy in the newspapers which has attracted some attention.

Those who have maintained that Mr. Boyd was not the writer of the letters signed *Junius*, have produced only one argument in support of their opinion, which has even the faintest, colour of plausibility. They affirm, that his abilities and information were altogether unequal to the task of composing those letters, and that his essays in the "*Indian Observer*," are every way so inferior to them, that it is not to be believed they could both have been written by the same person. In the first instance, therefore, I shall meet them upon their own

* See the Postscript to his "*Supplemental Apology*."

† I understand it is Mr. Chalmers's intention speedily to publish these documents.

‡ For an account of this controversy, see the Appendix to the Life.

ground,

ground, and from internal evidence satisfactorily establish the fact, that he was fully capable of writing the letters of *Junius*. And as to the inferiority of his papers in the "Indian Observer," admitting that inferiority, for the sake of argument, in a much wider latitude than truth obliges me to grant, it is yet merely a vulgar error to suppose, that because a man has once written well, he can never, under any circumstances, write ill; and that because a great genius has written with peculiar beauty and energy on one particular subject, he must of necessity always display, at least an obvious resemblance of the like excellence, in all his subsequent productions. Such a supposition, though somewhat plausible, is in fact, utterly fallacious, and can be entertained only by those who have a very superficial knowledge of the constitution of the human mind, as well as a limited acquaintance with literature. It is a sophism, which a due inquiry into the philosophy of criticism, and an examination of the different writings of some eminent men, would very fully expose, but which, in the present instance,

stance, I think I cannot more satisfactorily
refute, than in the nervous language of
Doctor Johnson. "There are," says he,
"many possible causes of that inequality
"which we may *so frequently* observe in
"the performances of the same man, from
"the influence of which no ability or indus-
"try is sufficiently secured, and which have
"so often sullied the splendour of genius, that
"the wit, as well as the conqueror, may be
"properly cautioned not to indulge his pride
"with too early triumphs, but to defer to
"the end of his life, his estimate of happiness.
"***** Though we suppose that a man
"by his fortune can avoid the necessity of
"dependence, and by his spirit can repel
"the usurpations of patronage, yet he may
"easily, by writing *long*, happen to write
"*ill*. There is a general succession of
"events, in which contraries are produced
"by periodical vicissitudes; labour and
"care are rewarded by success, success pro-
"duces confidence, confidence relaxes in-
"dusttry, and negligence ruins that reputa-
"tion which accuracy had raised.

"He

“ He that happens not to be lulled by
“ praise into supineness, may be animated
“ by it to undertakings above his strength,
“ or incited to fancy himself alike qualified
“ for every kind of composition, and able
“ to comply with the publick taste through
“ all its variations. By some opinion like
“ this, many men have been engaged at an
“ advanced age, in attempts which they
“ had not time to complete, and after a few
“ weak efforts, sunk into the grave with
“ vexation to see the rising generation gain
“ ground upon them. From these failures
“ the highest genius is not exempt; that
“ judgment which appears so penetrating,
“ when it is employed on the works of
“ others, very often fails where interest or
“ passion can exert their power. We are
“ blinded in examining our own labours by
“ innumerable prejudices. Our juvenile
“ compositions please us, because they bring
“ to our minds the remembrance of youth;
“ our later performances we are ready to
“ esteem, because we are unwilling to think
“ we have made no improvement; what flows
“ easily from the pen charms us, because

“ we read with pleasure that which flatters
 “ our opinion of our own powers ; what
 “ was composed with great struggles of the
 “ mind we do not easily reject, because we
 “ cannot bear that so much labour should
 “ be fruitless. But, the reader has none of
 “ these prepossessions, and *wonders* that the
 “ author is so *unlike himself*, without con-
 “ sidering that the *same soil* will, with
 “ *different culture*, afford *different pro-*
 “ *ducts* *.”

To demonstrate the truth of these observations, many examples might be adduced ; but I know of none more striking than that which is afforded in the writings of Mr. Boyd, now presented to the publick. Every one who compares the letters of the *Whig*, or *Freeholder*, with the essays in the *Indian Observer*, must not only be satisfied that the same man, on different subjects, and in a different situation, has written in styles totally dissimilar, but also that the author of these productions possessed very uncommon abilities, as well as great powers of language and composition. Thus the only

* See the *Rambler*, No. 21.

argument

argument of those, who have asserted that Mr. Boyd was not *Junius*, entirely falls to the ground; and they must now take up a position which they will find still less tenable, and contend that the letters of the *Freeholder* and *Whig*, are so unlike those of *Junius*, that they cannot be the productions of the same mind.

I believe every man of sense and observation who has read the letters of *Junius* with critical attention, and who will carefully compare them with the *Freeholder*, will at once admit, that in both, the principles and opinions, the mode of reasoning, the style, and the spirit, are, with a few trifling exceptions, so exactly alike, that they must either have been written by the same author, or that the *Freeholder* is the best imitation of *Junius* that has yet appeared. I shall, however, endeavour to shew, that the similarity between Mr. Boyd's political writings, published in this volume, and the letters of *Junius*, did not proceed from a vain desire to imitate, but from a natural partiality to that cast of thought and structure of language, which he had chosen for the discussion of

political subjects, of which he had successfully tried the effect on the publick mind, and to which, therefore, he was induced to adhere. At the same time I do not say it was an absolute habit of the mind which he was unable to disguise; for when it suited his subject and purpose, he could not only disguise his general style, but also reach perfection in the particular one he adopted. Of this we have an eminent and striking instance in the Preface* to his *Abstracts from Lord Chatham's Speeches*, wherein he has described the eloquence of that great man with a classical force, animation, and sublimity, which partake of the exalted theme, and which, perhaps, have not been often surpassed. Yet is the style of this composition altogether so different from that of the *Freeholder*, or *Junius*, that the most discerning critic, will, I believe, be unable to discover any resemblance between them. But to enable the reader the more readily to form a judgment on this point, I beg leave to contrast the following passages from the *Freeholder* and the *Preface*.

* See page 247, of this volume.

FREEHOLDER.

"We are no longer sunk in the dead repose of despotism and long parliaments. — Those stagnations of corruption and filth, shall no more poison the land. "*Alba nautis stella refulsit.*" The returning day-star of the constitution again illuminates the political hemisphere; and, in fulness of splendour, displays the glorious moment which restores to us our original rights. The power which we delegated, and the trust which we conferred, revert to us. The constitution regenerates. And the new birth inspires new vigour. As the giant received renovation of strength from touching his mother earth, so the rights of the people acquire new spring and force, when brought back to their original and parent source, the people's voice."

***** "Such, my friends, are the invaluable blessings now within our grasp. Such are the transcendent rewards now presented to us by the opportunity of an election. Power now returns to its genuine centre, the will of the people. It is theirs, and only theirs, again to put it in action, and to prescribe its operations. The vital blood ebbs back to the heart of the constitution.

PREFACE, &c.

"But the candour and imagination of the reader must supply another deficiency in our representation of Lord CHATHAM's oratory, more affecting our purpose of exhibiting its true likeness, than the partial imperfection we have mentioned. Those who have been witnesses to the wonders of his eloquence — who have listened to the musick of his voice, or trembled at its majesty — who have seen the persuasive gracefulness of his action, or have felt its force; — those who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye — who have rejoiced in the glories of his countenance, or shrunk from his frowns, — will remember the resistless power with which he impressed conviction. In these sketches of his original genius, they will read what they have heretofore heard; and their memory will give due action to the picture, by refiguring to their minds, what they have with admiration seen. But to those who never heard nor saw this accomplished orator, the utmost effort of imagination will be necessary to form a just idea of that combination of excellence, which gave perfection to his eloquence: — his elevated aspect commanding the awe and

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FREEHOLDER.

tion*. Let us imitate the wisdom of nature, and we shall attain its successful effects. Let us give the vital streams again to flow, through their constitutional channels. So shall the health of the whole body be restored, and its strength established. Every part of it shall revive and flourish; and the ghastly countenance of poverty and servitude shall brighten into the smile of happiness, and the triumph of liberty."—

* This appears to have been a favourite figure of Mr. Boyd's. In the *Indian Observer* he applies it no less happily than in the present instance. In talking of the circulation of commerce, he says, "The rich streams that have flowed through the arteries of protected trade, return through the grateful veins, to support the source from whence they issued." And it is peculiarly deserving of observation, that this metaphor is used by no other author except *Junius*, who in exhorting the kingdom at large to follow the example which the city of London had given them, by petitioning the King to dissolve the parliament, observes, "That the noble spirit of the metropolis is the life-blood of the state, collected at the heart; from that point it circulates with health and vigour through every artery of the constitution."

PREFACE, &c.

mute attention of all who beheld him: whilst a certain grace in his manner, conscious of all the dignities of his situation, of the solemn scene he acted in, as well as his own exalted character, seemed to acknowledge and repay the respect he received:—his venerable form bowed with infirmity and age; but animated by a mind which nothing could subdue:—his spirit shining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and clothing his lips with thunder;—or if milder topicks offered, harmonizing his countenance in smiles, and his voice in softness; for the compass of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vast, no imagination too sublime, for the grandeur and majesty of his manner; so no fancy was too playful, nor any allusion too comic, for the ease and gaiety with which he could accommodate to the occasion. But the character of his oratory was dignity: this presided throughout; giving force, because securing respect, even to his sallies of pleasantry. This elevated the most familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the most familiar allusions; so that, in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory.—*Telum Oratoris.*"

Thus

Thus we perceive, that Mr. Boyd could rise into eloquence and dignity in two very different styles, and that he could infuse into each that generous ardour which its subject inspired. In the *Freeholder* is to be observed the same structure of the sentences, the same transitions, the same fertility and happiness of allusion, the same chaste application of metaphors, and the same method of introducing them; the same concise vigour, the same brilliant animation, and above all, the same terse phraseology which are the characteristic features of *Junius's* style. On the other hand, we admire in the *Preface*, the ease and amplification of the periods, the spirit with which they are kept up, the rapid flow of the sentiments, the copious energy of the language, the boldness, yet correctness of the figures, the critical accuracy of the discrimination, and finally, the classical beauty and elegance of the description. In both are displayed very considerable genius, exquisite taste, and great facility of composition—and it will be found on a perusal of his political writings, that these qualities predominate throughout the whole of them.

But

But in order to shew in the strongest point of view, the affinity between the reasoning and composition of those writings and the letters of *Junius*, I shall cite a few passages from both, and point out the model on which their general style was undoubtedly formed. It is, however, necessary to premise one or two facts, concerning the time and care which were bestowed on the productions of *Junius*, and the hurry or negligence with which the other papers were written. Besides, the internal evidence which the letters of *Junius* themselves afford of their being composed with great labour and attention, we have his own declaration to that effect, expressed in pretty plain terms. In his second letter in reply to Mr. HORNE, he asks, "Is there no merit in dedicating my life to the information of my fellow-subjects?" ***** "Is there *no labour* in the *composition* of these letters?" Mr. Horne, I fear, "is partial to me, and measures the facility of my writings, by the fluency of his own." Now it is a positive fact, that the papers of the *Freeholder*, on the contrary, were written

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ten in the most hurried manner, on the very spur of the occasion they were designed to serve, and in the midst of all the confusion, dissipation, and riot, incident to an Irish election; and it is also a fact equally well authenticated, that the letters of *Democratiscus*, and of the *Whig*, were composed without the smallest preparation, study, or attention: for after the month of January 1772, he never wrote for the publick with any care, nor even with his accustomed secrecy. The articles which he sent from time to time to Mr. Woodfall and Mr. Almon, were written merely to gratify his ruling passion for politicks, and not with a view to arrest the publick attention: they cost him little time, and less labour. These writings are, therefore, by consequence, less polished than the letters of *Junius*, and in these he has almost wholly abstained from that pungency of sarcasm and bitterness of personal satire, which, together with the replies that they provoked, were unquestionably the true causes of the unexampled popularity of those letters. But the same political principles,

ples, the same bold sentiments of liberty, and precisely the same opinions of publick measures and publick men, to which *Junius* invariably adhered, will be found uniformly avowed, and strenuously maintained in the *Freeholder*, *Democraticus*, and the *Whig*. And here I must remind the reader, that consistency of opinion was *Junius's* greatest boast. In his reply to Mr. Horne already quoted, he says,—“ But he (Mr. Horne) asserts that he has traced me through a variety of signatures. To make the discovery of any importance to his purpose, he should have proved, either that the fictitious character of *Junius* has not been consistently supported, or, that the author has maintained different principles under different signatures. I cannot recollect to my memory the *numberless trifles I have written*; but I rely on the consciousness of my own integrity, and *defy him to fix any colourable charge of inconsistency upon me.*”

That this uniformity of principles is steadfastly preserved in the political letters now published,

published, will be best proved by a comparison of the following passages.

FREEHOLDER.

Let me in the first place conjure you never to lose sight of the great fundamental principle, that *You are the origin of power*. Government was constituted *by and for the people*. This is the voice of reason and the right of humanity: and applies in theory to all the nations of the world. But it is our peculiar felicity to realize the speculation, and to feel its actual blessings. — We are *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, free.

JUNIUS.

The power of King, Lords, and Commons, is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. *The fee-simple is in us*. They cannot *alienate*, they cannot *waste*. When we say that the legislature is supreme, we mean that it is the highest power known to the constitution; that it is the highest in comparison with the other subordinate powers established by the laws.

So far we find the fundamental principles of civil government laid down by *Junius* and the *Freeholder*, are exactly the same: and in another place the *Freeholder* further says,—
 “Remember, my friends, that in the moment of election, you stand forth the immediate guardians of your country.”—***
 “To her you owe an *original, unalienable, eternal* duty. You are, therefore, absolutely, and unconditionally, free. Except in the sense, in which Omnipotence itself is limited; by *wisdom* and *virtue*.”

With

With regard to the dispute between Great Britain and the American Colonies, *Junius* and the *Freeholder* express themselves in the following terms.

FREEHOLDER.

*** I maintain the innocence of America as to independent *views*; which if she now entertains, we can only blame our own infatuation that has compelled her. The point of view I wish to take, is the state of America previous to the repeal of the stamp-act. She was then, according to the language of parliamentary journals, "*in outrageous rebellion.*" To restore the happiness and connexion of both countries, a repeal of that act was proposed.*** It was restored; and would have been established, but for our fatal relapse into our former folly. About two years afterwards, the attempt at internal taxation was revived; and what was perhaps still more vexatious, was continued, at a memorable period which soon followed, though Lord Hillsborough had, in the name of all the ministers, expressly disclaimed it, in his publick letter to the Colonies. The violence and folly which have ever since disgraced our

JUNIUS.

A series of inconsistent measures has alienated the Colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country.***—Under one administration the stamp-act is made; under the second it is repealed; under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of Hillsborough is called forth at a most critical season to govern America.*** Since that period they (meaning the Colonies) have been *driven* into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with; and

FREEHOLDER.

our councils and our arms, are not to our present purpose; which is only to prove the peaceful and obedient disposition of America, from which she was *driven* by the revival of our oppressions.

JUNIUS.

and which would have availed nothing as to the general question, if it had been complied with.

These extracts sufficiently shew, the conformity of opinion between *Junius* and the *Freeholder* to the facts they have stated. Let us see how well their opinions and language tally upon a very material point in the American question.

FREEHOLDER.

It is particularly observable that the Colonies only complain of the *arbitrary practice* of universal taxation, and not of the *general principle*. For in all their applications, either to King or Parliament, they never require the repeal of the Declaratory Act, which establishes that principle: but it intends it, however, as all principles ought to be intended, to be acted upon with equity and moderation. The supreme power and right of Great Britain is there declared, in all cases whatever. And it may be

JUNIUS.

Junius considers the right of taxing the Colonies, by an act of the British Legislature, as a *speculative right* merely, never to be exerted, nor ever to be renounced. To his judgment it appears plain, that the general reasonings which were employed against that power, went directly to our whole legislative right; and that one part of it could not be yielded to such arguments, without a virtual surrender of all the rest.

This

* FREEHOLDER.

admitted to exist in all cases, either external or internal. But the Declaratory Act does not, cannot say, that it equally exists at all times, and for all purposes.

This is a point upon which there was much contrariety of opinion among the most strenuous opposers of the American war. LORD CHATHAM considered the British legislature as not supreme over the colonies in the same sense in which it is supreme over the mother-country. Mr. BURKE and the ROCKINGHAM party supported the entire supremacy of the imperial legislature of Great Britain, as stated in the Declaratory Act, while they condemned the exercise of that supremacy for the purpose of internal taxation; and some other gentlemen of great talents positively denied the existence of any speculative right whatever in the British parliament to levy taxes in the colonies. The distinction, stated with so much precision, by *Junius*, is somewhat peculiar; it was strongly combated at the time; and as far as I have had an opportunity of examining the

the different speeches and writings on this subject, I have not found it *exactly* maintained any where else but in the *Freeholder*. The *Freeholder* specifically declares, that the *right* to tax the Colonies exists in all cases either *external* or *internal*, but that it does *not* exist for *all purposes*, and should never be *arbitrarily exercised*. This is, in other words, the very distinction made by *Junius*. The spirit of the two passages above quoted is precisely the same.

Upon another question of the utmost delicacy, *Junius* delivered an opinion which was then, and is now extremely unpopular, which excited a great deal of clamour among those who styled themselves the *friends of the People*, but to which the *Freeholder* implicitly subscribes. "I have a claim," says *Junius*, "to the candid interpretation of
"my country, when I acknowledge an in-
"voluntary *compulsive* assent, to one very
"unpopular opinion. I lament the unhappy
"necessity, whenever it arises, of providing
"for the safety of the state, by a temporary in-
"vasion of the personal liberty of the subject.
"Would to God! it were practicable to
"reconcile

“reconcile these important objects, in every
“possible situation of publick affairs! I
“regard the *legal liberty* of the meanest
“man in Britain as much as my own, and
“would defend it with the same zeal. I
“know we must stand or fall together. But
“I never *can doubt* that the community has
“a *right to command*, as well as to purchase
“the service of its members. I see that right
“founded originally upon a necessity which
“*superfedes all argument*. I see it establish-
“ed by usage immemorial, and admitted by
“*more* than a tacit assent of the legislature.
“I conclude there is no remedy in the na-
“ture of things for the grievance com-
“plained of; for, if there were, it must
“long since have been redressed. Though
“numberless opportunities have presented
“themselves, highly favourable to publick
“liberty, no successful attempt has ever
“been made for the relief of the subject in
“this article. Yet it has been felt and
“complained of, ever since England had a
“navy. The conditions which constitute this
“right, must be taken together, separately
“they have little weight. It is not fair to
“argue from any abuse in the execution,
“to

“ to the illegality of the power ; much less
“ is a conclusion to be drawn from the navy
“ to the land service. The only case in
“ which the King can have a right to arm
“ his subjects in general, is that of a foreign
“ force being actually landed on our coast.
“ Whenever that case happens, no true
“ Englishman will inquire, whether the
“ King’s right to compel him to defend his
“ country, be the custom of England, or a
“ part of the legislature. With regard to
“ the press for seamen, it does not follow
“ that the symptoms may not be softened,
“ although the distemper cannot be cured.
“ Let bounties be increased as far as the
“ publick purse can support them. Still
“ they have a limit ; and when every rea-
“ sonable expence is incurred, it will be
“ found in fact, that the spur of the press is
“ wanted to give operation to the bounty.”
—I have been induced to cite this passage
at full length, on account of its intrinsic
good sense, and sound policy. In the *Free-
holder* this opinion is upheld in fewer words,
but with as much force and clearness. Talk-
ing of the rights of the executive govern-
ment,

ment, it is observed, "That a right may
 "lose its nature, and become the most odious
 "wrong, by unjust exertions. The King,
 "for instance, may *have a right to press* his
 "subjects, or a *particular part* of them, into
 "the *sea-service*. And the most constitu-
 "tional lawyers *decide so*. But even the
 "most hardened lawyer would blush to as-
 "sert, and the tamest slave would rise to
 "resist, a perpetual, unnecessary, and op-
 "pressive abuse of it. *"

Thus it is manifest that the *Freeholder* entirely coincides with *Junius*, in every political principle, as well as on every political question, which it suited his particular purpose to mention, or discuss. His observations are, for the most part, confined to the main subject of his letters, the *right of free election*; and on that important topic, he not only agrees with *Junius*, but takes from him the mottos for his two first papers, and with admirable finesse commences his first one with the following seasonable panegyrick. — "The *great*
 "writer whose words I have placed at the

* See the Preface to the *Freeholder*, p. 18, of this vol.

"head

“ head of my paper, is justly acknowledged
“ to excel in splendour of imagery, and in
“ strength of diction. But his excellence
“ extends to points still more important.
“ No writer has investigated with such sagacity, nor with such clearness pointed
“ out the true nature of our admirable
“ constitution. The wisdom and learning
“ of LOCKE had ascertained some great
“ fundamental maxims, which constituted,
“ or at least contributed to form the basis
“ of our liberties. But it remained for the
“ succeeding *address* and *eloquence* of Junius, to encounter and to subdue, at least
“ in the fields of argument, the more refined corruptions of later times.” It may, at first sight, seem irreconcilable with that modesty which Mr. Boyd possessed, to bestow such high praise on his own productions. But if we inquire a little into the motives of human action, as well as into the peculiar circumstances of the case before us, we shall be satisfied, that the above encomium is no way inconsistent with any of the qualities of his mind, and was in itself at once judicious and necessary.

Modesty has been beautifully called, "the grace of all the other virtues," and undoubtedly in proper time and place it is both becoming and salutary. When it arises from a native meekness of disposition, it gives a pleasing hue to the bloom of genius, as well as an insinuating softness to the countenance of virtue. This true modesty is perfectly compatible with that ingenuous pride which proceeds from a consciousness of our own talents and integrity, and which disdains the ridiculous affectation of forbearing to speak of ourselves, as we think and feel we deserve, more especially when we conceive the doing so will be productive of a publick benefit. But mankind are so much accustomed to that false modesty which is made up of unmanly diffidence, vanity, and hypocrisy, that we are extremely apt to attribute to arrogance, that which flows from the most generous motives; and to reproach a man for self-sufficiency, because he has had the frankness to avow his opinion of his own merits. In truth, there is often much more vanity in concealing, than in openly asserting our own claims to publick applause:

applause: for as men, who are possessed of shining abilities, seldom under-rate them in their own estimation, and as well-earned praise is generally grateful to the mind, there is surely less ostentation in a candid and dignified acknowledgment of the opinion we entertain of our own endowments, than in the strained prudery too commonly practised, of talking humbly of them, and of affecting not to deserve those praises, for which, at the same moment, our hearts are secretly panting. The man who is prompted to great undertakings by a generous ambition, and who is guided in his pursuits by a love of glory and truth, ought not to consider it in any degree inconsistent with real humility, to tell the world what he thinks of himself. So thought and so acted* the illustrious HUME, whose amiable and unassuming manners were as much esteemed in private life, as his great talents have been admired by all mankind. And it was upon these principles that Mr. Boyd acted, when he made *Junius* praise his own

* See HUME's *Life of himself*, prefixed to the 1st vol. of his *History*.

productions in the following terms. "When
 " kings and ministers are forgotten, when
 " the force and direction of personal satire
 " are no longer understood, and when mea-
 " sures are only felt in their remotest conse-
 " quences, this book will, I believe, be found
 " to contain principles worthy to be trans-
 " mitted to posterity." * * * * * "This is
 " not the *language of vanity*. If I am a
 " vain man, my gratification lies within a
 " very narrow circle. *I am the sole deposti-*
 " *tory of my own secret, and it shall perish*
 " *with me.*"—In another place he says—
 " * * without meaning an indecent compa-
 " rison, I may venture to foretel, that the
 " BIBLE and *Junius* will be read, when
 " the commentaries of the Jesuits are for-
 " gotten."

But the eulogium on *Junius* in the *Freeholder*, may be defended on other grounds. He was well persuaded of the efficacy of commencing those letters, which were addressed to the freeholders of the county of Antrim, by openly professing the same principles and opinions with the most popular political writer of the age: and at the same
 time

time he no doubt conceived that his high praise of *Junius* would do away the suspicion, to which the similitude of his style and sentiments, to those of the letters under that signature might very possibly give rise. The astonishing impression which his letters made on the minds of the people of Antrim, fully evinced both the utility and prudence of the plan he adopted. They were universally admired; and the *Freeholder* was called a *second Junius*, by the most competent judges. Very diligent inquiries were made to find out the author; but as he was in this instance also the "*sole depository of his own secret*," he was not discovered till many years afterwards, when a sheet of the manuscript which the printer had neglected to destroy was accidentally found, and in which some of Mr. Boyd's friends detected the hand-writing, although it was very much disguised. He then acknowledged to Mrs. Boyd, that he had written the *Freeholder*.

With regard to publick characters, he has principally confined himself in the *Freeholder*, to the three gentlemen who stood candidates

candidates for the county of Antrim, at the general election in 1776; but his mode of examining the claims of each of these candidates, so much resembles the general manner of *Junius*, as well as the cast of his language, that I must point out two or three passages to the particular notice of the reader. He begins by quoting from BLACKSTONE, "*that no lord of parliament hath any right to interfere in the election of commoners.*"—"This," says he, "is the law of the land. Remember it, my countrymen! revere it: maintain it. It is the grand barrier of the constitution. While it stands firm, you remain safely and invincibly intrenched in your own privileges. But if ever you surrender it to the enemy, you are irretrievably ruined. The democratick estate will be annihilated out of the constitution; and you will be melted down into a vile vassalage; the devoted prey and plunder of your despotick conquerors." The three candidates were the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, the Hon. Hugh Skeffington, and James Wilson, esq. Of the first he observes, "that
" he

" he resides in England; fixed there by con-
 " nexion, by inclination, and by duty. His
 " father is an English Earl, Lord Chamber-
 " lain to his Majesty's household, and unaliev-
 " ably *attached* to the court. Possessed of
 " an ample fortune in Ireland, he remem-
 " bers that country only in the large remit-
 " tances which he draws from her exhausted
 " bosom: unless indeed his attention be reviv-
 " ed at the polite period of octennial conde-
 " scension†." * * * * * " Besides he is indif-
 " pensibly fastened to England, by his seat
 " in the British House of Commons. * * * *
 " How then *can* he represent our county in
 " an Irish parliament. He is not only, not
 " an inhabitant of this place, and therefore an
 " unconstitutional candidate, but he is an ac-
 " tual absentee from this kingdom, and there-
 " fore an *impossible* representative. The ob-
 " jection is insuperable. It is not an intricate
 " deduction of argument, to which perhaps
 " specious sophistry might be opposed. It

† The length of this passage prevents me from quoting
 the whole of it: But the reader is referred to pages 44,
 45, and 46, of this volume.

"is an unanswerable point of fact. He
"cannot represent you."

Of Mr. Skeffington he says, "It is ob-
"vious that I study to speak gently of
"this gentleman. Content with a negative
"argument against his sufficiency, I do not
"allege positive charges of betraying trust.
"I do not refer to venal majorities, blank
"lists, and the obedient *aye*, or *no*,—the ut-
"most eloquence and service of some repre-
"sentatives: I speak not of uniform *devo-*
"tion to the court, and to courtly connexions:
"I only submit to my countrymen, that in-
"dependent of such *positive guilt*, their duty
"as freeholders obliges them to reject a can-
"didate, who is obviously, and totally desti-
"tute of all requisite qualifications.

"Permit me, in some measure to atone to
"my own feelings, for the disagreeable ne-
"cessity of these publick truths, by a just
"tribute to the private character of this
"gentleman. As far as my knowledge of it
"reaches, I gladly bear testimony to its be-
"ing amiable, good-humoured, and friend-
"ly. Nay, there is a species of delicacy in
"it,

“ it, which reflects some honour on him as
“ a man; accompanied, alas! with an in-
“ firmity of mind which disgraces him as a
“ senator. For I have good authority to
“ say, that he laments the servitude of his
“ situation. We all know too well that he
“ cannot shake it off. He has sensibility to
“ feel the chain; without the spirit, the en-
“ terprize of mind, that should cast it away,
“ and dare to be free.”

“ Reflect now, my countrymen!—No-
“ thing can be wanting to your free exer-
“ tion of your privileges, and vindication of
“ your rights, on this great occasion; if
“ you give it deep and due attention. You
“ will then be convinced that your grandest
“ happiness, the true *summum bonum*, which
“ the ancients puzzled for in vain, your li-
“ berty, is at stake. Founded as it is, in
“ every virtue, you will confess it paramount
“ to every blessing. To point out the path
“ that leads to this glorious object, shall be
“ the more pleasing business of my succeed-
“ ing letters. Long enough have our eyes
“ ached over this *barren prospect*: where no
“ *verdure of virtue quickens*—no publick ser-
“ vice

"vice is seen to blossom*. We will with
 "pleasure turn our view and our choice
 "to a more fertile soil, pregnant with the
 "richest seeds; which wait only for the cul-
 "tivation of our favour to ripen into the
 "happiest harvest."

After recommending Mr. Wilson to the
 freeholders of Antrim, as the only constitu-
 tional candidate of the three gentlemen who
 have been named, he proceeds to observe,
 " * * that in Mr. Wilson's address, two points
 "stand remarkably conspicuous; the inde-
 "pendent test, which he proposes to take
 "on the day of election; and the plan which
 "he suggests, to collect the sense of his con-
 "stituents, for the regulation of his parlia-
 "mentary conduct. These are eminent
 "features, and demand the nicest attention
 "of the political physiognomist, who wishes

* This is precisely the same figure, with which *Junius*
 begins his letter to Lord CAMDEN.

"My Lord,

"I turn with pleasure from that *barren waste*, in
 "which no salutary plant takes root—no *verdure* quick-
 "ens, to a character, fertile, as I willingly believe, in
 "every great and good qualification."

See *Junius's* Letter to Lord Camden.

"to

“ to trace the true lines of liberty, and to
“ ascertain the genuine son of the constitu-
“ tion.”

“ Parliamentary tests were always proper.
“ Even in the purer days of ancient liberty,
“ it was not unwise to *enforce*, by additional
“ obligations, the faithfulness of the servant.
“ It would never be thought unreasonable,
“ or ungenerous, to require from the agent,
“ at least a promise that he would act faith-
“ fully for his employer. But what was
“ right and reasonable, in the most virtuous
“ days, modern degeneracy has made abso-
“ lutely necessary. For, it is notorious,
“ that not only the substance of patriotism
“ is melting away, but its very name and
“ memory are falling into obloquy and con-
“ tempt. This noble quality, the sublimest
“ of moral virtues, as it approaches to the
“ sacred nature of religion herself, so must
“ it expect to share her abuse, and suffer her
“ misfortune. Hypocrites are daily detect-
“ ed, who do not blush to prostitute the
“ sacred character of both. Miscreants are
“ daily heard, who deny the existence of
“ either ; and who do not tremble to vilify
“ and

“ and betray their God and their country.—In
“ this shameless state of publick profligacy, it
“ is necessary to adopt every caution, to im-
“ pose every sanction, to insist on every se-
“ curity, for the fidelity of their representa-
“ tive. The honest candidate for any trust,
“ never objects, will rather anxiously desire,
“ to undertake in the most solemn manner,
“ for the honest execution of it. For such
“ an undertaking only anticipates in a
“ prospect pleasing to the mind, the course
“ of its own integrity. The virtuous man’s
“ promise is a draught on the bank of truth.
“ He makes it with confidence, for he knows
“ it will be paid with honour. Those only
“ hesitate to offer the same fund as a security,
“ who are conscious that they have no cor-
“ respondence with it.”

Such are the most prominent passages in the *Freeholder*; and I cannot doubt that every man of taste will admit, they bear an obvious resemblance to the letters of *Junius*, both in matter and style. But as there are many points discussed, and many publick characters attacked, by *Junius*, that are not even mentioned in the *Freeholder*, I shall
make

make a few extracts from the letters of *Democraticus*, and of the *Whig*, to shew how exactly Mr. Boyd's political sentiments correspond with those of *Junius*, in every particular instance.

The letters of *Democraticus* appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*, in the year 1779. Mr. Boyd sent them to Mr. Woodfall, in his ordinary hand-writing, and he did not conceal from Mrs. Boyd that he was the author of them. They were composed in the most careless and hurried manner, like common paragraphs for newspapers; and many of them were committed to paper late at night, after he had returned home greatly fatigued from having attended a long debate in one of the houses of parliament. Under these circumstances, to say nothing of the numberless difficulties by which, at this period of his life, much more than at any other, he was unceasingly teased and perplexed, it will not, I presume, be denied, that it required a mind of great natural strength, as well as one long practised in the habits of literary composition, to have produced these letters. As to their style, though it be in general of a different

a different mould from that of *Junius*, yet in some particular parts there is so evident a likeness between them, that it is hardly credible it could have escaped the observation of Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall *. For to me, at least, it appears perfectly clear, that the writer of *Democraticus*, in those passages of his letters that have an affinity to the compositions of *Junius*, has through hurry and inattention lapsed into a style to which he had been long accustomed, but which he was desirous to avoid. I shall, however, leave the publick to judge for themselves.

As the letters of *Democraticus* are chiefly addressed to Lord NORTH, it is necessary to remind the reader of the particular expressions in which *Junius* has delivered his sentiments concerning the publick conduct of that nobleman. In a letter to the Duke of GRAFTON, dated February 14th, 1770, shortly after his Grace had resigned his seat in the cabinet, he observes—"The palm of

* I shall presently shew, that there is some reason to suspect Mr. Woodfall did observe this likeness, as well as one or two other circumstances which tend to prove that Mr. Boyd was *Junius*."

"ministerial

“ ministerial firmness is now transferred to
 “ Lord North. He tells us so himself, and
 “ with the plenitude of the *ore rotundo* * ;
 “ and I am ready enough to believe, that,
 “ while he can *keep his place*, he will not
 “ *easily be persuaded to resign it*. Your
 “ Grace was the firm minister of yesterday ;
 “ Lord North is the firm minister of to-day.
 “ To-morrow, perhaps, his Majesty, in his
 “ wisdom, may give us a rival for you both.
 “ You are too well acquainted with the tem-
 “ per of your late allies, to think it possible
 “ that Lord North should be permitted to
 “ govern this country. If we may believe
 “ common fame, they have shewn him their
 “ superiority already. His Majesty is in-
 “ deed too gracious to insult his subjects by
 “ choosing his first minister from among the
 “ domesticks of the Duke of BEDFORD ;
 “ that would have been too gross an outrage
 “ to the two kingdoms. Their purpose,
 “ however, is sufficiently answered by *push-*
 “ *ing forward this unhappy figure*, and forc-

* This eloquent person has got as far as the discipline of
 Demosthenes. He constantly speaks with pebbles in his
 mouth to improve his articulation.

Junius.

VOL. I.

“ ing

“ing him to bear the odium of measures
“which they in reality direct. Without im-
“mediately appearing to govern, they pos-
“sess the power, and distribute the *emolu-*
“*ments* of government as they think pro-
“per.” In another letter to the Duke of
Grafton, he says, “to them who know Lord
“North, it is unnecessary to say, that he
“was mean and low enough to submit to
“you.” And in his letter to Lord North
himself, after reprobating in severe terms
the appointment of Lieut. Colonel LUT-
TRELL, to the post of adjutant general to
the army in Ireland, he concludes by telling
his Lordship—“As for you, my Lord, who,
“perhaps, are no more than the blind un-
“happy instrument of Lord BUTE, and her
“Royal Highness the Princess of WALES,
“be assured that you shall be called upon to
“answer for the advice which has been
“given, and either discover your *accomplices*,
“or fall a sacrifice to their security.”

After Lord North had been ten years in
office, *Democraticus* entertained the very
same opinion of him; and he expresses it
in language equally explicit, and if possible
more

more contemptuous and bold.—“The disgrace and ruin of the present moment,” says he, “we owe to his Lordship, and his *accomplices in office*. This, they may deny; for what will they not deny or assert? But their country challenges them to the proof. It is a truth demonstrable in argument. His Lordship has been ten years in power; in *office at least*: for I am aware of the defence under which his friends would shelter him; and will admit to him every reasonable degree of *insignificance*, as to his honour, *both as a minister and a man*. But he has not been *sufficiently contemptible* to be safe. He has had power enough to ruin his country. All its resources have been at the command of administration. Never was government so strongly supported. The publick purse has been poured into their coffers, almost without question, or account. The publick sword was placed in their hand without controul, and sharpened at their pleasure; and the flag of England was committed to their care unstained. Monstrous majorities in parliament

“ment obeyed their mandates; and even
“the people, till their late bitter experience,
“were deluded, and inflamed into a kind of
“concurrence in their violences. Such was
“the fulness of power intrusted to our mi-
“nisters.” * * * * * “You, my Lord,
“and the exclusive partners of your gratifi-
“cations, have the exclusive praise of all
“our present situation. And if ministers can
“yet be *responsible* in this sinking country,
“you and your associates have an *exclusive*
“*title to publick vengeance*.” In another let-
ter, personally addressed to Lord North, he
observes, “If any doubt could remain on the
“fate of such a minister, left to himself, the
“history of your militia will remove it.
“Let us gratefully recollect the political
“justice of that scene, in which you so suc-
“cessfully plotted your own tragi-comic
“catastrophe. It is almost too ludicrous
“to be gravely treated; and yet it may be
“too serious in its consequences for *ridicule*
“or *contempt*. It is impossible not to laugh
“at *Falstaff*, buffeted by his own friends,
“and outwitted in his own knavery; but
“indignation checks our mirth, when we
“remember

“remember that the *fat man* has *misled the prince*, and *pillaged the exchequer*.”

It is observable, that this passage is peculiarly in the style of *Junius*; and perhaps there is not even in the most highly finished of the letters under that signature, a more happy or appropriate allusion. But there are still a few more paragraphs in those letters, which, though not exactly in the language, are so much in the spirit of *Junius*, that I must beg leave to point them out.

In his letter to Lord North, already quoted, *Democraticus* observes, “In times
“of rebellion, it was in common observation,
“that the traitor was hated, though the
“treason was loved. You, my Lord, per-
“haps stand acquitted from crimes so ex-
“alted. But levelling the argument to
“your official situation, it may be prudent
“to consider that the tools of power are
“first despised, and at last thrown aside, by
“those who have employed them. Recol-
“lect, my Lord, and feel, if you can, the
“real relation in which you stand to a
“*great connexion of power*, under which you
“have been prime minister. The degree
of

“ of respect that you receive from the dig-
“ nity of the lord president, cannot now be
“ ambiguous even to your insensibility.
“ Lord Weymouth tells the secret every
“ evening. Mr. Rigby entertains the House
“ of Commons with it ; and no wonder that
“ he thinks it an excellent joke ; for he
“ gets both the laugh and the vote on his
“ side. But, indeed, my Lord, your per-
“ sonal estimation seems alike in all. ***
“ * * From numberless instances of insigni-
“ ficance, and of danger, consequently, in
“ which you stand, when left to your own
“ weakness, I have selected the defeat of
“ your militia, and your confessed impo-
“ tence of every national resource, because
“ it is the most instant in its consequence.
“ I would warn you in sober sincerity of
“ your imminent peril. You have not quite
“ benumbed the country. *The people of*
“ *England have feeling, my Lord, if they have*
“ *not foresight. The hour of trial, perhaps of*
“ *ruin, is at hand.*” It will be recollected
in what terms *Junius* talks of Lord Wey-
mouth and Mr. Rigby in various parts of
his letters ; and it will be found, that they
are

are always mentioned by Mr. Boyd in language nearly similar. Of Mr. Wedderburne *Junius* observes, "that there is something about him which even *treachery cannot trust*." And in another place he says of him, "to sacrifice a respected character, and to renounce the esteem of society, requires more than Mr. Wedderburne's resolution: and though in him it was rather a profession than a desertion of his principles (*I speak tenderly of this gentleman, for, when treachery is in question, I think we should make allowances for a Scotchman*) yet we have seen him in the House of Commons overwhelmed with confusion, and almost bereft of his faculties." *Democraticus* talks of him in terms more guarded, but not on that account the less severe. Speaking of Lord North, he asks, "Did his Lordship reserve his defence for this day, when again, perhaps, the charge shall be urged against him? Or will he continue contumacious at his peril? Even the sound discretion of Mr. Wedderburne will disgrace its definition, and will hesitate at the tyrannous and
"traitorous

“traitorous proscription of the best and
 “bravest * men of our service, though his
 “nature was amply indulged in their ground-
 “less and malicious prosecution.”

In another letter *Democraticus* reflects upon the character of Lord Sandwich, in the warmest language of indignation and reproach. Addressing himself to Lord North, he says, “Self-defence, my Lord, “may be the law of art, as it is of na-
 “ture. We will not wonder, therefore, “that you and your friends should strain
 “every artifice to ruin the noblest honour,
 “and the most approved virtue in the king-
 “dom; because that virtue is too pure, and
 “that honour too illustrious, to mix with
 “meanness, malice, and disgrace; because
 “those honourable and injured men will
 “not serve their country, while you preside
 “at the treasury; while your assessor holds
 “the department that was American, and
 “continues his baleful influence with the
 “ghosts of the departed colonies; and
 “while the stain of office†, that reproach

* He here alludes to the trial of Admiral Keppel.

† Meaning my Lord Sandwich.

“and

“and stigma of every thing decent in private
 “life, or dignified in publick conduct, usurps
 “the care of the BRITISH FLAG.” *Junius’s*
 sentiments with regard to this noble Lord,
 are sufficiently explained in one of his let-
 ters to the Duke of Grafton, wherein he
 observes, “We can easily account for your
 “violating your engagements with *men of*
 “honour; but why should you betray your
 “natural connexions? Why separate your-
 “self from Lord Sandwich, Lord Gower,
 “and Mr. Rigby? With all the fashion-
 “able indulgence of the times, this country
 “does not abound in characters like theirs;
 “and you may find it a very difficult mat-
 “ter to recruit the *black catalogue of your*
 “*friends.*”—No man, I should imagine, can
 read the above passages attentively, with-
 out being forcibly struck with the similitude
 of their sentiments, spirit, and manner. But,
 I shall now proceed to shew, in a few ex-
 tracts from the letters of the *Whig*, not only
 that Mr. Boyd’s principles were the same as
 those of *Junius*, but also, that he harboured
 in his mind the same peculiarity of political
 attachments and antipathies, as well as the
 same

same daring spirit; and if the *Whig* be more diffuse in his style, and less keen in his satire, than *Junius*, his language is at least equally nervous and elegant, and his reproaches equally dignified and severe.

The letters of the *Whig* appeared in Mr. Almon's paper, the *London Courant*, in the winter of 1779, and in the spring of 1780. Mr. Boyd confessed to Mrs. Boyd, that he was the author of them; nor did he keep the secret from Mr. Almon, who had long before that period been fully convinced, from several strong circumstances*, that he was in reality the writer of *Junius's* letters. Some part of the MSS. of the *Whig* is still extant, and I have seen it:—it is written in Mr. Boyd's ordinary hand-writing, though perhaps in somewhat of a larger letter, and it bears every appearance of having been executed in great haste. In fact, he composed the letters of the *Whig*, nearly in the same negligent manner that he did those of the *Freeholder*, and of *Democraticus*: and they exhibit the same range of mind, to-

* See Mr. Almon's Letter on this subject, in the Appendix to the Life.

gether with the like ease and perspicuity of diction.

The opinion of *Junius*, with regard to our constitutional maxim, *that the King can do no wrong*, is well known. But let us compare the language in which he has delivered it, with that of the *Whig*, on this delicate subject.

WHIG.

When it is truly said, *that the King can do no wrong*, the office is intended, and not the person; and this true construction is the perfect praise of our admirable constitution. The King of England can do no wrong; for it is not the office of the King to do any thing. The cautious wisdom of our policy will not permit the King to act. * * * * The office of King being thus considered, I trust with due respect; for I think it receives the highest, when defined as part of the constitution; it remains to remind the person appointed to that office, that he is a man;—that in his personal capacity he may, he must do wrong; for error is essential to humanity. It remains to demonstrate to him, that whoever confounds his person with his office, is a fatal enemy

JUNIUS.

If it be really a part of our constitution, and not a mere dictum of the law, *that the King can do no wrong*, it is not the only instance, in the wisest of human institutions, where theory is at variance with practice. That the Sovereign of this country is not amenable to any form of trial known to the laws, is unquestionable. But exemption from punishment is a singular privilege annexed to the royal character, and no way excludes the possibility of deserving it. How long, and to what extent, a King of England may be protected by the forms, when he violates the spirit of the constitution, deserves to be considered. A mistake in this matter proved fatal to Charles and his son.

In another place, he says, The doctrine inculcated by our laws, *that the King can do no wrong*,

WHIG.

JUNIUS.

my to both; for that they are so perfectly distinct in their nature, attributes, and interests, that the abuse of one is expiable only by the punishment of the other. The constitution will not admit that *the King did wrong*; and the law says that *the King never dies*: but *Charles Stuart* was an obstinate tyrant; and *Charles Stuart* lost his head.

wrong, is admitted without reluctance. We separate the amiable good-natured prince from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government. Were it not for this distinction, I know not whether your *Majesty's condition*, or that of the *English nation*, would deserve most to be lamented.

Thus we find that the opinions of *Junius* and the *Whig*, on this question, most perfectly agree; and it is observable that the *Whig* explains himself with the greatest freedom of the two.

Junius's antipathy to the Scotch is too generally known, to render it any way necessary for me to cite the various passages in his letters, in which it is expressed. Every person will observe the striking similarity between the following extract from a letter of the *Whig's*, and those parts of *Junius's* writings, wherein the Scotch are mentioned. In the *Whig's* letter to Lord Thurlow, after having spoken of Lord North, and Lord Hillsborough, with great bitterness and asperity,

rity, he says, "I ask pardon from my reader
 " for descending to such misery ; rendered
 " worthy of publick notice only from your
 " singular support. No nobleman, except
 " your Lordship, has stooped to it ; no
 " Englishman, except yourself, has so in-
 " sulted his country. *Even in the House*
 " *of Commons, none but Scotch lawyers*
 " *were found hardy enough on that day, to in-*
 " *sult this kingdom.* And even they, with all
 " the *servility of their country, and venality*
 " of their *profession*, (Mr. ADAM, indeed,
 " is but a young practitioner) were forced to
 " confess the sluggishness of Lord North.
 " They did not *post from Scotland*, to ap-
 " plaud the minister, whose irresolution has
 " *renewed rebellion in their kirk*, and whose
 " continued power *will add depopulation and*
 " *famine to their country.* No, my Lord,
 " they were too *discreet*. They crossed the
 " *Tweed* according to the distinction suggest-
 " ed by their countryman, and pretty steadily
 " adopted since, — not to defend *mini-*
 " *sters*, but support *government*. And the
 " doctrine is now established in practice by
 " an immediate proficient from Lord MANS-

" FIELD'S

“FIELD’S school;—that the only mode of sup-
 “porting government, is to slander the peo-
 “ple; to demonstrate, that we have neither
 “virtue, talents, nor spirit among us; that
 “we ought, therefore, to endure disgrace
 “and defeat as our necessary lot, and hew
 “our wood, and draw our water, without
 “repining.”

“The *exclusive infamy* of such auxiliaries,
 “were itself sufficient to drag down the dig-
 “nity of any character. Firmer fame, even
 “than yours, if it risked such ruin, could
 “not escape it. When the Lord High
 “Chancellor of England descends from his
 “presiding seat in the assembly of the no-
 “bles, to mix with *impudent mercenaries*, in
 “a cause which every man of honour shrinks
 “from, he forfeits every reputation, and his
 “glory will set more rapidly than it rose.
 “*Descent and fall*, which, with the spirits of
 “MILTON, we thought adverse, at least to
 “the magnanimity of his character, will grow
 “natural, necessary, and instant to its abase-
 “ment. He sinks for ever.” In several
 other parts of these letters, the *Whig* speaks
 of the Scotch in similar terms of reproach;
 but

but particularly in his letter addressed to the Majority of the House of Commons, who divided with ministers against Sir GEORGE SAVILLE's motion for a list of all the subsisting pensions granted by the crown, he observes,—“England will see, that those, “and almost only those, who either hold “places under the crown, receive pensions “from the minister, or have *invaded us* “from the *northern part* of the *island*, are “the *persons* who *conspire* against the *pro-* “*perty* and *liberty* of the *people*.” He then proceeds to point out to them, the dangerous and dreadful consequences that may probably follow a too obstinate adherence to the corrupt and pernicious counsels of Lord North; and concludes by exhorting them to assert the dignity of their station, and to throw off their servile dependence on ministers.—“Break,” says he, “the disgrace- “ful chains, that have so long bound you to “an abandoned administration; and retain “from the forgiveness of the people, what you “cannot longer withhold from their indig- “nation. Not the *gifts*, but the *givers*, have “*disgraced* you. Your *places*, your *pensions*, “*even*

“ *even the country of some of you, cannot just-*
“ *ly subject you to positive reproach.* It is
“ *only as they have inclined and debased you*
“ *into infamous servility, that they have*
“ *grown proverbial in the contempt of man-*
“ *kind.* But in *prudence*, if not in *honour*,
“ *‘assume the virtue if you have it not;’* nor
“ *longer devote yourselves to common ruin*
“ *with the falling edifice of corruption.* It
“ *shakes already to its foundation; the*
“ *breath of the people will level it for*
“ *ever.*”

These censures of the Scotch, it may be said, are nothing more than the popular language of the times in which they were written; and that therefore their resemblance to the sentiments of *Junius* on this subject, furnishes no argument in the present discussion. But, it is not so much to the *parity* of particular sentiments or phrases, as to the *sameness* of the general spirit by which they are animated, that I wish to fix the reader's attention. The hostility of *Junius* towards the Scotch, proceeded no less from an utter abhorrence of the political principles upon which the leading men
of

of that nation then acted, than from an entire conviction, that if those principles were permitted to take root in England, they would ultimately branch out, and grow above the legal liberties of the people. Whether or not his opinion was well founded, it is no way incumbent on me to inquire; I only mean to state, that it is manifest from the spirit of the remarks made on the national character of the Scotch, both by *Junius* and the *Whig*, that at least much of their apparent enmity arose from a desire to rouse the indignation and point the hatred of the people against the toryism introduced into his Majesty's councils by Lord Bute and Lord Mansfield, and to keep alive in the breasts of Englishmen, that watchful jealousy of their rulers, which is essential to the conservation of publick freedom. But the justness of these observations will be best proved by comparing the spirit of the following passage from *Junius*, with that of those of the *Whig* above quoted. In *Junius's* first letter to Lord Mansfield, he says, — "Permit me to begin with paying a just tribute to Scotch sincerity wherever I find

" it. I own I am not apt to confide in the
 " professions of gentlemen of that country;
 " and when they smile, I feel an involuntary
 " emotion to guard myself against mischief.
 " With this *general* opinion of an ancient
 " nation, I always thought it much to your
 " Lordship's honour, that in your earlier
 " days you were but little infected with the
 " *prudence* of your country." * * * * " The
 " liberal spirit of youth prevailed over your
 " *native discretion*."— * * * * There was
 " something generous in your *attachment to*
 " *the banished House of Stuart*. We lament
 " the mistakes of a good man, and do not
 " begin to detest him until he *affects* to re-
 " nounce his principles. Why did you not
 " adhere to the loyalty you once professed?
 " Why did you not follow the example of
 " your worthy brother *? With him you
 " might have *shared* in the *honour* of the
 " Pretender's confidence; with him you
 " might have preserved the integrity of

* This man was always a rank Jacobite. Lord Ravens-
 worth produced the most satisfactory evidence of his
 having frequently drank the Pretender's health on his
 knees.

Junius.

" your character; and England, I think,
 " *might have spared you without regret.*
 " Your friends will say, perhaps, that al-
 " though you deserted the fortune of your
 " liege Lord, you have *firmly adhered to the*
 " *principles which drove his father from the*
 " *throne*; that, without openly supporting
 " the person, you have done essential ser-
 " vice to the cause; and *consoled yourself*
 " for the loss of a *favourite family*, by *re-*
 " *living* and *establishing* the maxims of his
 " government. This is the way in which a
 " Scotchman's understanding corrects the
 " errors of his heart. My Lord, I acknow-
 " ledge the truth of the defence, and can
 " trace it through all your conduct. I see
 " through your whole life one uniform plan
 " to *enlarge the power of the crown*, at the
 " *expence of the liberty of the subject*. To
 " this object your thoughts, words, and ac-
 " tions, have been constantly directed." It
 were needless to quote this passage any fur-
 ther. The conformity of its spirit to that
 of the sarcasms of the *Whig*, on Lord Mans-
 field and the Scotch, must already be suffi-
 ciently evident.

With regard to Lord Bute, it is well known that *Junius* heaps reproaches upon him with abundant liberality. In a note to the most celebrated of all his letters, after describing the manner in which the King was placed under the care of Lord Bute, he observes, — “ That was the salient point
“ from which all the mischiefs and disgraces
“ of the present reign took life and mo-
“ tion.” The *Whig* expresses the same sentiment, by a figure equally illustrative.
“ The early exclusion of Mr. Pitt, and in-
“ troduction of the Earl of Bute, were the
“ first bitter waters of that fatal fountain
“ which has almost deluged the rights and
“ power of the people.”

Every one will recollect, that *Junius* was an enemy to septennial, and an advocate for triennial parliaments. In his letter to Mr. WILKES, he entered at large into the subject, and expressly declared himself to that effect. On this question the *Whig* cursorily, but forcibly observes, that the “ opportu-
“ nities and temptations to despotism, seem-
“ ed to have attained their full maturity, at
“ the commencement of the present reign.
“ The

"The *septennial act of suicide*, abhorrent certainly from the *popular nature* of parliament, and *destructive* of its due independence on the crown, had long been perpetrated."

Speaking of the popularity with which his Majesty ascended the throne, *Junius* and the *Whig* have expressed the same sentiments, in language very much alike.

WHIG.

The time of his Majesty's ascension to the throne, was full of such peculiar circumstances of popularity, as gave unlimited, because unsuspected, power. Into that auspicious moment was crowded all the promise of his youth, founded in the fond memory of all the virtues of his ancestors; of his youth rising, as it seemed, to renew the race of glory that they had run, even up to the recent goal of universal conquest. Nature and fortune conspired to give the young monarch of that day an empire the best and most permanent that monarchs can enjoy, if they wish to maintain it,—an absolute power in the hearts of his subjects.

JUNIUS.

You ascended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a sincere resolution of giving universal satisfaction to your subjects. You found them pleased with the novelty of a young prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words; and loyal to you not only from principle but passion. It was not a cold profession of allegiance to the first magistrate, but a partial animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country. They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave you a generous credit for the future blessings of your reign, and paid you in advance the dearest tribute of their affections.

Many .

Many other parallel passages might be pointed out in the *Whig* and *Junius*, were I not fearful of fatiguing the patience of my readers, by increasing these citations which, perhaps, they already think too numerous. But there are two more paragraphs in the letters of the *Whig*, which so peculiarly resemble the general spirit and manner of *Junius*, that I should deem it unpardonable not to notice them. Talking of the changes which corruption and misgovernment have introduced into the British constitution, he says,—“The British constitution hath changed its form, and is losing its spirit. Some magick has metamorphosed the ancient pyramid into the deformity of a Chinese pagoda. . The beautiful strength of its order is gone; and we now tremble for the narrowed base; oppressed by the middle; with monsters at the top!”

In another letter, wherein he reprobates the fervility of ministers, and the corruptions of the court, he says,—“Weakness alone were not a sufficient qualification for a modern minister. — He must be *actively contemptible* if he expect *honour* at court.

“ * * * * Oc.

“ * * * * Occasions are studiously contrived
“ to bend and subdue the spirits of men :
“ and those are advanced the *highest* in the
“ *service*, who have best learned the *discipline*
“ *of disgrace*. There should be little won-
“ der that *commanders* in such a service are
“ fought for from the *ranks*.”—

“ I trust I have now fully demonstrated,
that Mr. Boyd's political principles, opi-
nions, and sentiments, were precisely the
same as those of *Junius* ; and that his politi-
cal writings bear a more striking resemblance
to the general style and spirit of the cele-
brated letters under that signature, than any
other compositions which have hitherto been
presented to the publick. It remains, how-
ever, to shew, that this resemblance did not
proceed from a studied imitation, but from a
predilection for that cast of thought, and of
language to which his mind had been long
accustomed. To make a distinction of this na-
ture, in general, perhaps requires one of the
nicest and most refined operations of critical
taste ; but in the particular instance before
us, it is to be determined by a few plain
facts, and by an argument so simple and
obvious,

obvious, that I doubt not it will be intelligible and satisfactory to every understanding.

It has been very generally imagined that the style of *Junius* is perfectly original; that it was formed upon no model; and that in the structure of it the author was indebted to no master. But an examination of the style, manner, and spirit, of two performances, that in the time of *Junius* were rather scarce, and that are still little known but by name, will incontestibly prove the utter fallacy of such a supposition. One of these performances, which I have already had occasion to quote, is intitled, *Killing no Murder**. It was written by the famous Colonel TITUS, while in close confinement in the Tower, by the order of CROMWELL. It is a remonstrance to the people of England against the tameness with which they submitted to the usurpation of the Protector; and its main argument is designed to shew, that so far from being a crime, it would be

* In 1792, this pamphlet was reprinted for Ridgeway, with a dedication to the late Empress of Russia!!

an act of heroick virtue to murder him by whatever means the nature of circumstances might render the most effectual. It commences with a dedication to Cromwell, which is no less remarkable for its unexampled boldness, than for a classical strength and elegance of diction, very uncommon in the age in which it was written, and that would do honour to the more polished periods of English literature.

The other performance is Lord BOLINGBROKE's political letters, which he originally published in the *Craftsman* under the signature of *Caleb D'Anvers*, and some of which, together with his letters on the History of England, and his dedication to Lord Oxford, are now to be found in *Vol. II. of his Miscellaneous Works*.

From these productions, but especially Lord Bolingbroke's, the writer of the letters of *Junius* unquestionably formed his style: and it is a fact, as curious in itself, as it is interesting in this discussion, that both Colonel Titus's tract, and Lord Bolingbroke's letters, were so familiar to Mr. Boyd, that he could almost repeat the whole of them. Of *Killing*

no Murder he had, when I knew him, a copy of the original edition, upon which he set a great value; and the dedication to Cromwell, as well as several other parts of that performance, he has very frequently repeated to me. Of Lord Bolingbroke's letters on the History of England I have often heard him express his high admiration; but the philosophical works of that nobleman he always reprobated in the severest terms. When these circumstances are combined with the fact, that the letters of the *Freeholder* and *Whig* have in many passages a *peculiar* affinity both to the reasoning and manner of Lord Bolingbroke's writings, we must conclude in argument, that it was upon those writings Mr. Boyd modelled his political style; and that therefore the language of *Junius*, and that of the *Freeholder* and *Whig*, were cast in the same mould. But in order to substantiate the truth of this inference, I shall cite one or two passages, both from Colonel Titus and Lord Bolingbroke.

It is necessary to premise that, in Colonel Titus's performance, it is the dignified animation

mation and energy of the language, rather than the structure of the sentences, which Mr. Boyd has imitated. Of this, the reader will be enabled to judge, from the manner in which the dedication to Cromwell commences.

" May it please your Highness,

" How I have spent some hours of the
" leisure your Highness has been pleased to
" give me, this following paper will give
" your Highness an account ; how you will
" please to interpret it, I cannot tell ; but I
" can with confidence say, my intention in
" it is, to procure your Highness that justice
" nobody yet does you, and to let the people
" see the longer they defer it, the greater
" injury they do both themselves and you. To
" your Highness justly belongs the honour
" of dying for the people ; and it cannot
" chuse but be an unspeakable consolation
" to you in the last moments of your life,
" to consider, with how much benefit to
" the world you are like to leave it. It is
" then only, my Lord, the titles you now
" usurp will be truly yours. You will then
" be indeed the deliverer of your country,
" and

“ and free it from a bondage little inferior
“ to that from which MOSES delivered his,
“ —You will then be that true reformer
“ which you would now be thought; re-
“ ligion shall be then restored, liberty assert-
“ ed, and parliaments have those privileges
“ they have fought for. We shall then
“ hope that other laws will have place, be-
“ sides those of the sword, and that justice
“ shall be otherwise defined than the will
“ and pleasure of the strongest; and we shall
“ then hope; men will keep oaths again,
“ and not have the necessity of being false
“ and perfidious to preserve themselves, and
“ be like their rulers. All this we hope
“ from your Highness’s happy expiration,
“ who are the true father of your country;
“ for while you live, we can call nothing
“ ours—and it is from your death we hope
“ for our inheritances:—Let this considera-
“ tion arm and fortify your Highness’s mind
“ against the fears of death, and the terrors
“ of your evil conscience, that the good you
“ will do by your death, will somewhat ba-
“ lance the evils of your life.”—The same
spirit is kept up throughout the remainder
of

of the dedication, which is in every respect equally admirable.

After the dedication follows an address to the officers and soldiers of the army, in which the following passage is deserving of notice in this investigation.

“ Could ever England have thought to have
“ seen that army, that was never mentioned
“ without the titles of religious, zealous,
“ faithful, courageous, — the fence of her
“ liberty at home, — the terror of her ene-
“ mies abroad, become her gaolers? Not
“ her guard, but her oppressors? Not her
“ soldiers, but a tyrant’s executioners, draw-
“ ing to blocks and gibbets all that dare be
“ honest than themselves? This you do,
“ and this you are; nor can you ever re-
“ deem your own honour, the trust and
“ love of your country, the estimation of
“ brave men, or the prayers of good, if you
“ let not speedily the world see you have
“ been deceived; which they will then only
“ believe, when they see your vengeance on
“ the faithless head that did it. This, if you
“ defer too long to do, you will find too
“ late to attempt; and your repentance will
“ neither

"neither vindicate you, nor help us. To
 "let you see you may do this as a lawful
 "action, and to persuade you to it as a
 "glorious one, is the principal intent of
 "this following paper; which, whatever
 "effects it hath upon you, I shall not abso-
 "lutely fail of my ends; for if it excites
 "not your virtue and courage, it will yet
 "exprobrate your cowardice and baseness."

The whole of the pamphlet is written in
 the same ardent and nervous language: but,
 there is one sentence in particular, so much
 in the general style of *Junius*, that I think
 it material to cite it. Talking of the virtue
 of murdering a tyrant, and enforcing the
 necessity of putting Cromwell to death, he
 says—"This firebrand, I would have any
 "way extinguished; this ulcer, I would
 "have had any hand to lance; and I can-
 "not doubt but God will suddenly sanctify
 "some hand to do it, and bring down that
 "bloody and deceitful man, who lives not
 "only to the misery, but the infamy of our
 "nation."

Throughout the whole of these passages,
 the spirit of *Junius* may be traced: but
 in

in the following extracts from the aforesaid letters of Lord Bolingbroke, we shall immediately perceive the form and type of *Junius's* composition.

The Dedication to Lord Oxford contains some striking passages in which the critical physiognomist will observe the features of *Junius*. The dignified air and manner with which it begins, merits peculiar notice.

“ My Lord,”

“ Of the whole legion once in your pay,
“ perhaps not one writer continues in your
“ service; as they followed you for the
“ loaves and fishes only, their zeal failed
“ with their appointments, and they found
“ it necessary to take up some other trade.”

“ But though, *like them, my Lord, I at-*
“ *tended your meridian, I shall not like them*
“ *forsake you at your decline;* on the con-
“ trary, I am still as much at your devotion
“ as ever, and it is notorious, you have
“ now as much to bestow as I expected
“ then.

“ As therefore I make my approach with
“ the same sincerity, I depend on the same
“ reception

“reception; more especially when I farther assure you, that if I happen to be the longest liver, I will be as just to your memory, as I have been to your administration.”

In another paragraph he proceeds to say, —“The old jingle of *honores mutant mores*, you have the glory, my Lord, to be an illustrious exception to; however enlarged with style and titles, you continue to be within the very same; and thereby shew the eminent insignificancy of such vanities.

“That you condescended to accept of them, will ever to some be matter of wonder; that you condescended to solicit them will never perhaps be believed. Why should a man who despised the essence, be fond of the name? And that you always had the magnanimity to be above opinion, is manifest by every action of your life.

“But what labyrinth is there so intricate, that if you follow the thread, may not be explored? A peerage was the only means, a quietus was the end: you had performed your voyage, your bark
“was

"was crazy, the storm was up, and the
 "first port welcome. While the helm was
 "worth holding, you held it; when only an
 "incumbrance, you resigned it; equally
 "pleased with your own escape, that your
 "enemies succeeded to the danger, and
 "that your own crew continued to navi-
 "gate the vessel as before."

In the preface to the letters, the follow-
 ing passage is observable. "If ever a test
 "for the trial of spirits can be necessary, it
 "is now; if ever those of liberty and fac-
 "tion ought to be distinguished from each
 "other, it is now; if ever it is incumbent
 "on the people to know what truth is, and
 "to follow it, it is now.

"Hitherto, perhaps, liberty like oil hath
 "only covered the surface, while the vine-
 "gar of faction hath corroded the consti-
 "tution underneath, though good hath re-
 "sulted from both; for even faction must
 "be at first popular, and popularity can-
 "not be acquired without the evidence of
 "some good deeds, which like Abraham's
 "faith, may hold the place of righteous-
 "ness.

“ There is a time, when factions by the
 “ vehemence of their own fermentation,
 “ stun and disable one another; and this is
 “ the time when plain sense, and downright
 “ honesty, have the only chance to get
 “ uppermost, and introduce reformation.

“ Perhaps that time is now; perhaps
 “ party leaders of all kinds are equally in
 “ disgrace; and the publick may be grown
 “ wise enough to judge of the tree by its
 “ fruits.” * * * * * “ Let but one great,
 “ brave, disinterested, active man arise, and
 “ he will be received, followed and almost
 “ adored as the guardian genius of these
 “ kingdoms. Without a foundation of so-
 “ lid virtue and publick spirit, the noblest
 “ accomplishments lose their importance;
 “ with it common sense grows venerable,
 “ and the dove triumphs over the serpent.”

Many passages similar to these might be
 cited both from the letters on the History
 of England, and from those of *Caleb D'An-*
vers; but, I trust, I have sufficiently illus-
 trated and confirmed my proposition,—that
 both the style of *Junius*, and that of Mr.
 Boyd's political writings now published,

were

were formed in the mould of these letters of Bolingbroke's, and that they have imbibed the spirit of Colonel Titus's production. And taking this along with the fact already stated, that Mr. Boyd had so much familiarized his mind to the writings of those authors that he had almost the whole of them by heart; and remembering at the same time that he is the only writer hitherto known, who at once resembles Bolingbroke, Colonel Titus, and *Junius*, — the fair and natural presumption is, that Mr. Boyd was in reality the author of *Junius*.

But it may be contended, that Boyd was only an industrious imitator of those writers; and that though *Junius* copied Bolingbroke, it does not follow, because Boyd's style resembles theirs, that he therefore was *Junius*: — for another person might have admired Bolingbroke's letters as much as Boyd did, and have thought proper to model his style by them. To this, I answer, that to imitate the style of a great writer successfully, that is, both in matter and language, requires not only a genius nearly equal to the original, but also much time and labour. Now, though I think

Mr. Boyd's genius was equal to any literary undertaking of this nature, however arduous; yet the fact is, that the hurry and confusion in which the letters of the *Freeholder*, in particular, were written, precluded the possibility of any study or labour in the composition of them: and in truth they carry the strongest internal evidence along with them, both that the author must have been habituated to the style in which he writes, and that he must have sent them to the press, as he says himself, without "correction or even revival*."—As to the objection, that another person might have imitated Bolingbroke, as well as Boyd, it is plausible enough, but certainly of no weight in this discussion, unless the person could be named, and his avowed writings produced. I am therefore authorized to conclude, that when Mr. Boyd published the *Freeholder*, he was an experienced writer, who had long before that time formed his style from the political letters of Bolingbroke; and that *Junius* is the only writer besides, who has made those letters his model.

* See the Advertisement to the Reader prefixed to the *Freeholders*.

Thus

Thus I have established the truth of two facts, which may be considered as essential preliminaries in this investigation; namely, that Mr. Boyd's talents were fully competent to the task of writing the letters of *Junius*, and that his avowed political writings bear, in every respect, so obvious a similitude to those letters, that we must presume they were written by the same hand.

But as it has been attempted to run down Mr. Boyd's abilities; as the publick have been repeatedly told that I have over-rated them; and as I have been called upon to produce the testimonies of more competent and less partial judges than myself, in support of my opinion, — I am desirous that my *first fact*, that he was qualified to have written the letters of *Junius*, should not rest wholly, even upon the strong internal evidence which I have adduced to prove it. For, I am perfectly well aware, that this kind of evidence, even upon a point like this, where it is undoubtedly the most unexceptionable that can be given, does not always enforce conviction, unless it be supported by collateral aid.

Before it can be accurately determined whether

whether Mr. Boyd's capacity was equal to the task of composing the letters of *Junius*, it is necessary to examine the merits of those letters, and to ascertain, what in reality were the qualifications requisite for the author of them to have possessed.

The fame of *Junius's* letters has now outlived the memory of the particular occurrences, which gave them birth. The interest in them is no longer kept up by the effervescence of party zeal, or the enthusiasm of publick liberty: for the parties they praised, or censured, are now no more, and the genuine spirit of liberty, from a variety of causes, has become flat and insipid. Yet are those letters still read by all descriptions of people throughout the country; they are considered merely as literary compositions, and as such they are universally admired. Their fame, therefore, must in a great measure depend on their own excellence; and it behoves us to inquire what that excellence consists in.

I shall not, I trust, be understood as detracting from the *true merit* of *Junius*, when I apply to his writings in general, what was said of them by Mr. Horne Tooke,—*mate-*

riem

riem superabat opus. It is the exquisite beauty of his workmanship, rather than the value of his materials, that deserves the applause of mankind. His letters undoubtedly abound with striking thoughts, just observations, noble sentiments, and comprehensive views; but they nowhere display much solidity of argument, or depth of reflection: on the contrary, his reasoning, though often ingenious, is more specious than conclusive; and his remarks, though often accurate, are often more dazzling than profound. His chief excellencies then will be found to consist, in the clearness of his conceptions, in the precision with which every fact is stated, and idea expressed, in the nervous closeness and captivating elegance of his style, in the Attic spirit and poignancy of his satire, in the admirable felicity of his illustrations, and in the rich, but lively and chaste colouring with which every thing is touched and adorned*.

If

* Of *Junius* it may be truly said, "*Nullum quod tegerit non ornavit.*" Nor shall I be deterred from bestowing this just praise on his style, on account of the trivial errors which Mr. *Chalmers* has pointed out, and censured. "Such violations of rules merely *positive* become the comprehension."

"five

If this be admitted to be a just character of *Junius's* writings, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that he who composed them, required not to have been gifted with any other endowments, than an enlarged, vigorous, and subtle understanding, a quick apprehension, a fertile imagination, a very considerable knowledge of classical learning and civil history, a general acquaintance with the moral sciences, particularly that of jurisprudence, and of the constitution and laws of England, a thorough insight into human life and manners; a perfect intimacy with party politicks, as well as with the private and publick histories of eminent men, and distinguished families, and above all, a strong and retentive memory, ever ready to call up in the mind all the information it had received, a correct judgment to employ it successfully, and a refined taste to polish and beautify the whole. Every competent judge who *perfectly knew* Mr. Boyd, will, I am sure, allow, that he possessed all those endowments in a very eminent degree. But in order to convince the publick, that my opinion of his abilities is not singular, I beg

“ five genius of *Boyd*, and such censures are suitable to the
 “ minute and slender criticism of *Chalmers*.”

leave

leave to cite the following paragraph of a note, which I received from the celebrated Mr. GRATTAN, in the course of last summer. "Mr. Boyd's understanding," says he, "was very considerable, his memory astonishing, and his literary powers very great; but, whether *he thought proper* to give them the style and cast of *Junius's* composition, is what Mr. Grattan cannot possibly undertake to say. Mr. Grattan wishes every success to Mr. CAMPBELL'S work, as it is the account of a person (whether *Junius* or not) whose life and talents were an ornament to letters, and whose death an irretrievable loss."

May 16th, 1799.

The opinion entertained of Mr. Boyd's talents, as well as of the letters of the *Freeholder*, by his friends in Ireland, may be collected from the following extract of an address to the freeholders of the county of Antrim, published in the *Belfast News Letter*, some years after he had gone to India.

"I conclude, my countrymen, in the words of a man" (Mr. Boyd) "whose services to you CAN NEVER BE SUFFICIENTLY

"ICIENTLY PRAISED:—Who pointed out
 "IN LANGUAGE WHICH WILL BE RE-
 "MEMBERED WHILE THERE IS GRATI-
 "TUDE LEFT IN HIS NATIVE COUNTRY,
 "the glorious moment which restored you
 "to your original rights. In a period less
 "ominous to freedom than the present, he
 "left this country when he thought he could
 "no longer serve it. He looked for an-
 "other, and became a citizen of the world.
 "If asked where that lay? He might, like
 "Anaxagoras, have pointed to the heavens.
 "Had he journeyed to the west instead of
 "the east, he might there have found a
 "region more congenial to his noble mind.
 "Whatever perils he has encountered,—
 "whatever hardships he has suffered,—and
 "I fear disappointment and disaster have
 "been his lot,—could he now contemplate
 "through the opaque veil of Asiatick des-
 "potism, the situation of his native country;
 "even at this distance he would address a
 "prayer to the God who rules the universe,
 "for the conservation of its liberties."

Almost all the literary friends that Mr.
 Boyd had in England, are now dead; but

it is a positive fact, the truth of which, if called in question, I can satisfactorily prove; that Mr. Edmund Burke, and his brother Mr. Richard Burke, that Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Wilkes, Doctor Armstrong, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Lauchlin Maclean, Mr. David Garrick, and Doctor Goldsmith, all entertained the very highest opinion of the uncommon powers of Mr. Boyd's mind. And the late Mr. John Stuart, of Hampstead, of whom I have already given a particular account, has frequently declared to me, "that Boyd possessed a clearer understanding, a more fertile imagination, and a more ready and refined wit, than any other man he ever knew:—that he thought his talents *superior* to the abilities displayed in the letters of *Junius*; but that he could easily believe him to have been the author of those letters, if he were once assured, that Woodfall was not indemnified against the pecuniary penalties, which he was liable to incur as the publisher of them *; for,"

said

* This objection is now completely done away, by the declaration which Mr. William Woodfall recently made in the

said Mr. Stuart, "if an indemnity of that kind had been required, you know our friend Boyd had it not to offer."

With Mr. Edmund Burke, Mr. Boyd was long in habits of the closest intimacy. He was first introduced to him by their common friend the late Governor PATTERSON, of the Island of St. John's. Mr. Burke admired him so much upon their first acquaintance, that he immediately invited him to Beaconsfield, where he passed some time, and whither afterwards he often went. Mr. Burke, his brother Richard, and his cousin William Burke, also visited frequently at Mr. Boyd's house. But the great confidence that Edmund Burke placed in Boyd's political sagacity and talents, is best proved by the following fact, which came within my own knowledge. From the year 1788 till 1793, both Edmund Burke and his son kept up a constant correspondence with Boyd, although during that time he was at

the publick papers, by the authority of his brother Mr. H. S. Woodfall:—namely, "that the printer of the Publick Advertiser never asked for any indemnity, nor was any offered him."

so great a distance from them *. Some of Mr. Burke's letters I have seen. The subject of them was the French Revolution; and they were written in his best style, and with that spirit of philosophy which pervades all his writings. He also wrote to him on the affairs of India; but these letters, for whatever reason, Boyd thought proper to destroy. The letters which he received from young Burke were chiefly on the affairs of Ireland, particularly as they related to the emancipation of the Catholics: and on all those subjects Boyd, with a few inconsiderable exceptions, agreed with the Burkes.

The only one of Mr. Boyd's old and very intimate literary friends, besides Mr. Grattan, who is still living, is the learned Mr. FRANCIS HARGRAVE; and he has told me, "that he always thought Mr. Boyd's abilities were of the very first rate, and that he held his literary endowments in the highest estimation."

Mr. Boyd was likewise acquainted with Mr. Richard B. Sheridan. He used some-

* Mr. Boyd was then at Madras. He went to India in 1781.

times to meet him at Mr. STRAFFORD CANNING's, and at a club at the Globe Tavern in Fleet-street: and I have reason to believe that Mr. Sheridan conceived a high opinion of his wit and talents. In short, every person of taste and judgment who knew Mr. Boyd, considered him as a very extraordinary man, and as one endowed with the most brilliant parts and extensive acquirements.

Yet, it may be said, that Mr. Boyd was too young to have been the author of *Junius's* letters; for, that at the age of twenty three*, he cannot be supposed to have gained the political experience, and the knowledge of the world, which they every where display. This objection is more plausible than solid; and is moreover abundantly refuted by some eminent examples of the like prematurity of mind.

The name of Congreve will occur to every reader acquainted with literary history, as an instance of one who had attained

* This was Mr. Boyd's age, when the letters of *Junius* commenced.

at a very early age an extensive knowledge of life and manners. This extraordinary man had written his three best comedies, and the tragedy of the *Mourning Bride*, before he had passed his twenty-fifth year. "Among all the efforts of early genius," says Doctor Johnson, "which literary history records, I doubt whether any one can be produced, that more surpasses the common limits of nature than the plays of Congreve."—But, Congreve was not a politician. In the political world, however, there are examples equally striking. The two greatest orators of the present day, Mr. Fox, and Mr. PITT, came into parliament at the age of twenty two†: and the friends of these gentlemen will allow, that at no period of their political lives, have they ever exhibited stronger proofs of sagacity, knowledge, and eloquence than when they first commenced their career. Mr. Fox, before he reached his twenty-sixth year, was the leader of a party the

† It has indeed been said that Mr. Fox was *not* of age when he procured a seat in parliament.

most

most illustrious for talents of every kind, that was ever known in England; and the wonderful ability and address with which he managed that party, best shews how deeply he had searched into the human heart, how perfectly he understood the motives, passions, and weaknesses of men, and how attentively he had observed the habits and practices of the world. Mr. PITT formed a party at the same age, which he has held together ever since; while he attended to the various interests, and conducted the affairs of the British empire.

It is not my intention to institute any comparison between the talents of these great men, and those of *Junius*. I only mention their early attainments, in order to shew that very young men, may act or write like very experienced politicians;—for, the Scripture saith truly — “*that wisdom is the grey hair unto men.*”

Of Mr. Boyd's great proficiency at school, I have already given an account: And his early knowledge of mankind, and of political affairs, will appear the less surprising,

prising, when it is known that his father had made a practice of bringing him into company at eight years old; that he encouraged by every means in his power, his son's propensity to mix with society, and to listen to the conversation and observe the manners of men; and that seeing his turn for politicks, he bestowed the greatest pains in instilling into his youthful mind the genuine principles of freedom, in instructing him in the science of civil government, and in impressing him with just notions of the excellence of the British constitution. How well his father was qualified to do all this, has been shewn, upon the testimony of Dean Swift: and when we couple such circumstances with the fact, that almost every man, in Dublin, distinguished either for his rank or talents, used to visit at Mr. Macauley's house,—I trust the causes of the prematurity of Mr. Boyd's mind, will appear sufficiently explained.

Upon the whole, combining the concurrent opinions of the distinguished characters who have been named, as to Mr. Boyd's intellectual powers and literary qualifications,

tions, with the strong internal evidence in proof of them, which the selections I have made from his political writings afford, it must, upon every principle of fair reasoning be concluded, that he was a man of genius and knowledge,—of considerable sagacity and great acuteness;—and that he was an able politician, as well as a masterly and elegant writer: and, therefore, according to my idea of the qualities that constitute the excellence of *Junius's* letters, which the best judges will, I believe, admit to be correct, I am amply justified in laying it down as an indubitable truth, that Mr. Boyd's talents were fully adequate to the task of writing those celebrated epistles.

But, it may still be contended, that though Mr. Boyd was gifted with great abilities, he did not possess sufficient means of information with respect to the interior politics of the cabinet, and the private lives of men in power, to have written the letters of *Junius*;—for, that the author of those productions must have been intimately connected with government, as well as in the constant habit of associating with the

first circles of rank and fashion. To this I answer,—That a strict scrutiny of those letters will convince every man of sound sense, that they contain no political information whatever, but such, as a person of Mr. Boyd's penetration and tenacious memory might very easily have acquired, from the conversation of those very gentlemen, with whom, as it has been stated, he lived on terms of familiarity and friendship. And to those who imagine that the writer of *Junius's* letters must of necessity have mixed much with people of rank and fashion, I reply, that it is a fact well known to Mr. Boyd's relations, that not only during the time of *Junius*, but throughout his whole life, he kept company with the highest orders of society, and was familiarly acquainted with several families of distinction. It is also an equally well authenticated fact, that when *Junius* was making so much noise in the world, Boyd made a constant practice of attending the levees and drawing-rooms at St. James's. He went to them as a man of fashion; and with his inquisitive mind, insinuating address, prompt apprehension, and wonderful

h 2

memory,

memory, we cannot doubt that he collected a vast deal of curious information, both of a publick and private nature. In truth, no man knew the politicks of the day better than Mr. Boyd; and there was not a family of any consequence, either in Great Britain or Ireland, with whose history he was not thoroughly acquainted.

I shall, however, endeavour more particularly to point out the channels through which he received his political information. Those who are best acquainted with the history of the Duke of Grafton's administration, know perfectly well, how very possible it was, in the time of *Junius*, to obtain intelligence of what passed in the cabinet, without being any way connected with it; and it is well known that few men had more early notice of what passed there than Mr. Wilkes, with whom Boyd constantly associated. But he had yet another channel of information, more sure at least, if not more direct, than this one.

The late Mr. Lauchlin Maclean, who was secretary to Lord Shelburne, (now Marquis of Lansdown) when his Lordship
was

was secretary of state, was Mr. Boyd's particular friend. They first became known to each other in Dublin, in the year 1764. On Maclean's return from America, they met in London, and renewed their acquaintance. Boyd then got very intimate with Harry Maclean, Lauchlin's younger brother; and he took a warm interest in whatever concerned them or their family. Both the Macleans were men of abilities, but Lauchlin possessed an uncommon degree of sagacity and penetration, and to use the words of Johnson, "he knew the mind of man, from the depth of stratagem to the surface of affectation." During the time he was in office, Boyd was regularly informed of all the secret transactions of that mongrel administration, of which Lord Shelburne was then a member. When the Duke of Grafton compelled that noble Lord to relinquish his place, it is well known that Maclean was dismissed along with him. A few months subsequent to their dismissal, the letters of *Junius* commenced. At this period Boyd constantly associated with the Macleans. With Lauchlin he used frequently

quently to dine; and Harry called on him almost every day to communicate the political news, which he and his brother had employed their most strenuous industry to collect.

From his old friend Mr. Grattan also, who lived in London, in the time of *Junius*, he may be supposed to have received much assistance in obtaining information respecting secret politicks; and during the years 1769 and 1770, while Boyd lived in Marlborough-street, he and Mr. Grattan were perpetually together.

With regard to the affairs of Ireland, he had several sources of intelligence; but it was chiefly through his friend Mr. Flood he received his earliest information.

It were superfluous to state any thing further on this part of the investigation: for it must be evident to every candid mind, that there is no kind of knowledge in *Junius's* letters, which Mr. Boyd did not possess; and that he was in fact amply qualified in every respect, to have been the author of such productions.

There are, however, one or two things which it seems requisite to account for, be-

fore

fore I state the circumstances in proof of Boyd having actually written the letters of *Junius*.

It has been asked, what could have induced the author of *Junius* to conceal his name, after the fame which his papers acquired, was firmly established in the public opinion, and after the animosity of those whom he attacked may be supposed to have subsided? Nothing certainly is more extraordinary than that disposition of mind, which in the author of *Junius* enabled him to listen to the applause of his admirers, and to the censures of his enemies, with equal indifference, and never once to be betrayed by flattery, or thrown off his guard by provocation; to keep his secret even from her to whom he confided every thing else; silently to suffer the praises which he had earned by his abilities, industry, and labour, to be bestowed upon others, to be satisfied with the self-gratification and consciousness of having gathered those laurels which he daily saw so many great men willing to accept, and finally to refuse to his memory that honour which an admiring world was solicitous

solicitous to bestow. That this disposition of mind belonged, in a peculiar manner, to Mr. Boyd, those who thoroughly knew him, and who had pried into the deepest recesses of his heart, will not hesitate to acknowledge. For, in truth, few men united so much ardour of mind, with so much gentleness of manners; so much generosity of heart, with so much evenness of temper; so much secrecy and resolution, with so much frankness and ease; so much noble pride, with so little idle vanity; and such high passions, with a command over them so entire, that superficial observers of his habits have absurdly imagined he had no passions at all. What his motive was for carrying his secret with him to the grave, it is impossible to determine, and therefore useless to inquire; but it is probable, that having once found it necessary, in order to check inquiries concerning *Junius*, to tell the world that he was the *sole depository of his own secret, and that it should perish with him*, he deemed it improper to retract his declaration. His motive for not avowing himself before he left England, is easily explained.

explained. He was involved in the greatest embarrassments, and looked for assistance from men in power, who he knew would not only withdraw their patronage, but become his most inveterate enemies, if they had the smallest suspicion of his being the writer of *Junius's* letters; while on the other hand, he had little to expect from such friends, as the knowledge of the fact might possibly have procured him. And after he went to India, it would have been something more than imprudence to have avowed he was *Junius*.

Every reader will recollect that *Junius* had very few political friends; for he attacked either openly, or indirectly, all parties, but the Grenvilles. Of Lord Chat-ham, indeed, he always speaks in the highest terms, to say nothing of his beautiful panegyrick on him; but there are some of his Lordship's measures and opinions, which he unequivocally objects to. The Rockingham party he frequently censures, though in the most respectful terms, and though he praises, "the mild, but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham." But Lord Temple,

ple and his brother Mr. Grenville he never mentions, except in the warmest language of approbation: and it is a positive fact that Mr. Boyd always spoke of them in a similar manner; perhaps, from an expectation of being patronized by Lord Temple, as Mr. Almon supposes*, or it may be from a conviction that they richly merited the applause of every man who fought only to promote the true interests, and to uphold the legal liberties, of England.

With regard to those whose character *Junius* most severely attacks, I have already shewn that Mr. Boyd entertained the same opinion of them; and in that opinion I am firmly persuaded he was confirmed from a sincere belief, (whether just or not I do not pretend to determine), that it was founded in the strictest veracity, and that therefore he conceived he was doing a signal service to his country by exposing their private vices together with their public crimes to the contempt and indignation of every honest heart. He knew that when civil socie-

* See Mr. Almon's second Letter, in the Appendix to the Life.

ty arrives at a high pitch of refinement, the corruption and degeneracy which ever accompany its progress, render general satire of but little avail; because men whose senses are dulled by luxury and venality cannot be touched by any general censures; such correctives however strong they do not feel; nothing but the sight of their own deformity can shame them into righteousness*. I will not say, that

Junius

* On this point it is observed by *Junius*, in his reply to one of Sir William Draper's letters; "that *measures*, and "not men, is the common cant of affected moderation; a "base counterfeit language, fabricated by knaves and "made current among fools. Such gentle censure is not "fitted to the present degenerate state of society. What "does it avail to expose the absurd contrivance and pernicious tendency of measures, if the man who advises "or executes them be suffered, not only to escape with "impunity, but even to preserve his power, and insult us "with the favour of his sovereign." He then quotes a letter of Mr. Pope's to Doctor Arbuthnot, wherein Pope, says, "To reform and not to chastise, I am afraid is impossible; and that the best precepts, as well as the best "laws, would prove of small use, if there were no examples to enforce them. To attack vices in the abstract "without touching persons, may be safe fighting indeed, "but it is fighting with shadows. My greatest comfort "and

Junius has always drawn his pictures faithfully, much less will I contend that they are not often too highly coloured; but I am fully satisfied that he, for the most part, believed them to be just representations of the originals. I know that he is mistaken in some of his statements, and I think some of his asperities and sarcasms highly blameable; but I am nevertheless convinced that his intentions were always pure, and that his chief motives were, a truly noble zeal in the cause of liberty, and a generous ambition of raising the literary reputation of his letters, and of being ranked, under the signature he adopted, among the first political satirists, of any age or nation.

His determined and unrelenting hostility to the Duke of Grafton, has, however, been supposed to have arisen from some private motive; and the supposition is certainly justified by the bitterness of his remarks upon his Grace's conduct. But, the

"and encouragement to proceed has been to see, that
 "those who have no shame, and no fear of any thing else,
 "have appeared touched by my satires."

motive

motive is easily pointed out. I have already noticed the friendship that subsisted between Mr. Boyd and the Macleanes, and the warm interest he took in their affairs. Now, it is a fact, that after Mr. Lauchlin Maclean was dismissed, by the Duke of Grafton, from the office of under secretary of state, he conceived a mortal hatred for his Grace, and indulged his resentment by painting him in the blackest colours. From this circumstance, I infer, that Mr. Boyd formed his opinion of the noble Duke's conduct from the representations of Mr. Maclean and his brother; that his friendship for them, together with the conviction that the measures of his Grace's administration were inconsistent with the true principles of the constitution, and ruinous to the empire, induced him to hold him up to the nation as a weak and dangerous minister; and that his constant habit of conversing with them on the subject had sharpened and envenomed the point of his satire.

Such are the motives which may be supposed to have influenced Mr. Boyd in writing the letters of *Junius*. And having now shewn,

shewn, that he was not only qualified in every respect to have been the writer of those letters, but also that his other political writings resemble them so exactly, as to afford the strongest presumptive proof, that they are the compositions of the same person,—I shall proceed to state the facts and circumstances, which in conjunction with the internal evidence that has been adduced, have fully convinced me, and will, I think, convince every unbiaſſed mind, that he was in reality the author of *Junius*. For, in this investigation, positive evidence cannot reasonably be expected; as *Junius* has declared to the world, “that he was “the *sole depository* of his secret,” and “that it should *perish with him*,” and as Mr. H. S. Woodfall has lately permitted his brother to acknowledge for him, that he *does not know* who was the author of *Junius* *. The only evidence, therefore,

* Mr. William Woodfall in one of his letters, which appeared last autumn in the *Morning Chronicle*, tells the publick, “that the writer of *Junius* *promised his brother*, “that he would one day let him into his secret,” and that when

of which Mr. H. S. Woodfall can be possessed, is the manuscript of *Junius*, which if he has got, he does not choose to produce, because he perfectly well knows, that there is some similitude between it, and the common hand-writing of Mr. Boyd, and because from thence he apprehends that if it were compared with Mr. Boyd's disguised hand, some proofs of which Mrs. Boyd has in her possession, the resemblance would appear too striking, to admit of a doubt, that the manuscript of *Junius* was written by Mr. Boyd. But Mr. H. S. Woodfall has informed me, that he *did not* preserve the MSS. of *Junius**; and as I have certainly no right to question the truth of this declaration, I trust the publick

that day comes, he will expose all our errors!! — *Junius* then, in Mr. Woodfall's opinion, is still living: but, what signifies the opinion of Mr. Woodfall on this subject, when he does not acquaint us with the grounds on which he has formed it; and when he confesses he does not know who was the writer of *Junius*.

* This he told me, in the course of a conversation I had with him on the subject, at his own house, at Chelsea, in May 1798.—Mr. William Woodfall, and a young lady, were present.

will

will be satisfied with the opinion of those who had opportunities of examining *Junius's* hand writing, and who must be perfectly disinterested in the present discussion.

With regard to Mr. H. S. Woodfall having said, "that he did not believe Mr. Boyd was *Junius**, " I shall only observe, that his belief in this matter is of little consequence, as he has doubtless very *sufficient reasons* for wishing to keep the publick in the dark respecting the author of *Junius*, and as I presume he will not upon his honour deny, that he once thought Mr. Boyd was that very person, nor that he did not notice in the letters of *Democraticus*, some of the characteristic features of *Junius's* composition. The following anecdote will at once refresh Mr. Woodfall's memory, and justify the foregoing observations.

* In the Preface to the former edition of Mr. Boyd's Life, I stated, that Mr. H. S. Woodfall had declared to me, that he did not believe Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius*.

In the year 1780, when Mr. Almon's paper, entitled the *London Courant*, was in agitation, the late Mr. Stratford Canning, (uncle to the present under secretary of state) by desire of many distinguished personages, solicited Mr. Boyd to conduct it,—which he refused, promising, however, to write for it. A few days after he had made this promise, walking the street with a friend or two, they met Mr. H. S. Woodfall, stopped, and entered into conversation, which turning upon the new paper, Woodfall looked Mr. Boyd *full in the face*, and then said,—“Almon expects to overset all the other papers, for he says *Junius* is to write for the *Courant*.” The gentlemen who were present on the occasion, were struck so forcibly with the impressive manner in which Woodfall spoke, that they were convinced, he confidently believed Mr. Boyd to be the author of *Junius*.

Thus every reader will know what weight to give to the late declaration of Mr. H. S. Woodfall on this subject; and thus have I endeavoured to clear my argument from an

objection of some apparent, though not of any real, strength.

As most of the facts, which I am now going to submit to the publick, rest on the testimony of Mrs. Boyd, it is very essential to mention, that she is living, and that every one who has any knowledge of her character will admit, that she is in every respect the very best evidence that can be wished for, in a discussion of this kind. And I can with truth affirm, that with regard to the controversy about the author of *Junius's* letters, she is entirely free from that partiality by which she may be supposed to be influenced, though her reverence for truth obliges her to avow, that she is convinced Mr. Boyd must have been the real writer of those papers.

In the latter end of the year 1768, the author of *Junius's* letters commenced his correspondence with the *Publick Advertiser*; and on the 21st of January 1769, the first letter under the signature of *Junius* appeared in that paper. During the years 1769 and 1770, he also wrote occasionally

in

in the same paper under the signatures of *Lucius* and *Brutus*, and he sometimes sent communications to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, without any signature at all. The letters under the signature of *Philo Junius*, he has himself acknowledged *, were his own productions. He likewise wrote private letters to some distinguished persons, under the signature of *Junius*, which were transmitted to them through Mr. H. S. Woodfall.

Now it is a certain fact, that Mr. Boyd commenced his correspondence with the *Publick Advertiser*, precisely at the same period of time with *Junius*. In the winter of 1768, he sent several letters to Mr. Woodfall; the contents of which he kept a secret from Mrs. Boyd. In the beginning of January 1769, he was at great pains in accustoming himself to disguise his handwriting. He used frequently in the course of a forenoon, to come from his study, in which he had locked himself up, into the parlour; and shewing Mrs. Boyd some slips

* See the Preface to *Junius*, in page 1, of Woodfall's edition.

of paper on which he had written, would ask her, whether she thought he had disguised his hand? She told him, that he had disguised it so completely, that none but *those who were very well acquainted with his common hand* would suspect the writing to be his.

When the controversy between Sir William Draper and *Junius* took place in the month of February 1769, and when the letters of *Junius* thereby became the constant conversation in all the literary, political, and fashionable circles in London, Mr. Boyd evinced the *greatest anxiety*, about the letters which he was at that time writing for the *Publick Advertiser*, and he practised a *peculiar* secrecy, both with regard to their contents, and to the mode of transmitting them to Mr. Woodfall. In the course of the controversy, Mrs. Boyd begged of him to take in the *Publick Advertiser*, as she was desirous to read the letters of *Junius* as they came out; but this request, notwithstanding her repeated entreaties, he thought it prudent to decline: and it was not till two years afterwards, that by mere dint of importunity,

she

she overcame his scruples, and prevailed on him to take in that paper. Yet he himself always manifested much solicitude to see the letters of *Junius*; and frequently, on the day after he had sent a letter to Woodfall, he would walk out pretty early, and upon returning home to dinner, tell Mrs. Boyd with an *animated countenance*, "*That Junius was announced for to-morrow.*"

With Sir William Draper, and every thing that concerned him, Mr. Boyd was well acquainted: and he often spoke to Mrs. Boyd about Sir William's controversy with *Junius*, observing, that the Knight richly merited the lashing he received, and that he had compelled *Junius* to say more of Lord Granby's character than he originally wished,—for, that *Junius* respected Lord Granby*.

In the summer of 1769, when the letters of *Philo-Junius* first appeared, Mr. Boyd repeatedly told Mrs. Boyd, *in confidence*,

* When the letters of *Junius* were published in volumes, the very same observations appeared in a note to *Junius's* reply to Sir William Draper's letter of the 27th February 1769.

that

that she might *rely upon it* they were written by *Junius* himself, for that it was necessary to make the publick suppose he had an *auxiliary* *.

During the autumn and winter of 1769, Mr. Boyd continued to send letters to the *Publick Advertiser*, almost every week, subscribed in his disguised hand, and with the aforesaid secrecy. And at this time, he used eagerly to seek opportunities of introducing the subject of *Junius*, in his private conversations with Mrs. Boyd. He would ask her opinion of different letters, and desire her to point out the passages in them she most admired; and he always seemed gratified with her remarks upon them, whether of censure, or praise. "In short," says Mrs. Boyd, in a letter to me, in which she has detailed those conversations, "what-
 " ever subject our *private* conversations be-
 " gan with, we *always ended with Junius*;
 " and it is not credible that a person, *wholly*
 " *unconcerned* with that production, could

* This, as it has been already stated, turned out to be strictly true.

"have shewn, for so many years, such an extraordinary degree of interest about it." This circumstance is greatly strengthened by the fact, that Mrs. Boyd was the only person in whose presence he ever betrayed any of those symptoms of paternal regard for the letters of *Junius*, which have been mentioned; and that in company with his literary friends; *particularly with Mr. Wilkes*, he talked of *Junius* with the most perfect indifference.

On the 19th of December 1769, *Junius's* letter to a GREAT PERSONAGE, made its appearance, and set the whole town in a ferment. Ministers spared no expence, no trouble, no secret arts, no means whatever that either their ingenuity could suggest, or the publick purse supply, to discover the author. Treasury spies were stationed in every place where there was the smallest likelihood of gaining intelligence respecting him; and every exertion was made to intercept his correspondence with Woodfall, whose office, at the corner of Ivy-lane, was for that purpose closely watched.

Mr.

Mr. Boyd at this time carried on his correspondence with the *Publick Advertiser*, with a caution so studied, and a secrecy so impenetrable, as to surprise Mrs. Boyd, and make a lasting impression on her mind. After writing in his study for several days together, he would ask Mrs. Boyd to take a walk with him, often in the dusk of the evening, and sometimes at night; and after having conducted her to some by-way, or unfrequented street, would stop, as if suddenly recollecting himself, and saying, "*he had a letter to send to Woodfall,*" took a large packet from his pocket, and put it into a remote penny post-office. At other times he would give it to Mrs. Boyd, and desire her to carry it to the corner of Ivy-lane, and put it into Woodfall's letter-box. When they returned home, Mrs. Boyd often hinted to him, that she *suspected he was Junius*, to which he made no reply, but would ingeniously change the conversation. Once or twice, when he was asking her opinion of some *favourite passages in Junius*, she has told him, that she wished *he was Junius*, at which

which he would smile, and only say—
 “Should you?”—“Unfortunately,” says Mrs. Boyd, in a letter to me, “I always added, “that if he was *actually Junius*, I should “never forgive him, for keeping the secret “from me; and this I imagine was one “strong reason for his not disclosing it to “me, after all the bustle about *Junius* had “subsided.” “Sometimes,” continues Mrs. Boyd, “on going to dinner, or supper, and “finding him writing in his study, I have “gone to the desk, asking questions, on “which he would *immediately cover his “writings*, and say something lively about “female curiosity. Sometimes he wrote “under other signatures, and would ask me to “copy what he had composed, and which were “sent in my hand-writing to Woodfall. In “particular, I copied a letter addressed to Sir “FLETCHER NORTON, on his being chosen “Speaker of the House of Commons *.” This took place in the month of March

* This letter, together with several others of Mr. Boyd’s that appeared at different times in Mr. Woodfall’s paper, shall be presented to the publick in the course of this year, as a third volume to these works.

1770. Throughout the remainder of that year, and during the spring of 1771, Mr. Boyd continued to write, with the most unremitting diligence and secrecy, and to transmit what he had written to Mr. Woodfall, by the same methods that I have already mentioned.

In April 1771, he was under the necessity of going to Ireland, for ten days, on very urgent business. Yet, his correspondence with Mr. Woodfall was of too much importance to be neglected: for, in that short space of time he sent Mrs. Boyd *three large packets*, with the *most particular injunctions*, to put them *immediately* into Woodfall's letter-box.

In the month of June 1771, he took a house at Kenton-Green, near Harrow. In the course of this summer, it is well known that the controversy took place between Mr. Horne and *Junius*. Respecting that controversy, Mr. Boyd manifested the utmost eagerness; and while it lasted, he used, for several days together, to lock himself up in his study immediately after breakfast, and never make his appearance again until dinner was announced.

nounced. When he had finished what he was writing, he would walk into London with it, and walk back the same day *. In talking to Mrs. Boyd about Mr. Horne's long letter to *Junius*, he confessed "that Mr. H. was an ingenious and able reasoner, but that *Junius*, notwithstanding this, had the better of him," observing at the same time, that *Junius's* expression *that* "Mr. Wilkes should be supported while he was a thorn in the King's side," was both very unguarded and unfortunate.

In the beginning of November 1771, Mr. Boyd borrowed from a neighbour of his at Kenton-Green, a great many folio books of law, and state trials, which he used daily to examine with the most sedulous attention, and from which he made several extracts, for the purpose, Mrs. Boyd thinks, of supporting the charge that *Junius* had too hastily made against Lord Mansfield, on account of his Lordship having *bailed* Mr. JOHN EYRE. It is necessary here to remind the reader, that *Junius* in a short

* Mr. Boyd was a great walker. He would often walk thirty miles in a day, without being fatigued.

letter to Lord Mansfield, dated the 2d November 1771, concludes in the following words. "If ever Mr. Eyre should be brought to trial, we shall hear what you have to say for yourself; and I pledge myself before God and my country, in proper time and place, to make good my charge against you."—About eight days after the publication of this letter, the following notice appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*.

November the 9th, 1771.

"*Junius engages to make good his charge against Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, some time before the meeting of parliament, in order that the House of Commons may, if they think proper, make it one article in the impeachment of the said Lord Chief Justice.*"

Now between the date of this notice, and the 21st of January 1772, the only letter from *Junius* which appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*, was a short one to the Duke of Grafton, and the last one indeed that he ever addressed to his Grace. It is dated the 27th November 1771. From this time till the

20th of January following, Mr. Boyd's whole time was occupied in examining the law books and state trials above mentioned, and in writing with his usual secrecy for the *Publick Advertiser*. *Junius's* elaborate letter to Lord Mansfield, in which he strove hard to make good his charge against him, is dated the 21st January 1772: about three weeks after the publication of this letter Mr. Boyd went to Ireland; and *Junius* ceased to write under that signature for the *Publick Advertiser*.

The abrupt manner in which *Junius* concluded his letters, occasioned much observation at the time, and many a plausible conjecture has been made concerning it. The general opinion, however, was, that he had either died, or quitted the country; and hence one or two gentlemen have been supposed to have written those letters, who, I believe, never in their lives wrote a line for Mr. Woodfall's paper. But, when we know that Mr. Boyd was *Junius*, the matter is easily accounted for. On his return from Ireland in March 1772, he found his friend Mr. Lauchlin Maclean had made an amicable

ble

ble adjustment of his differences with the Duke of Grafton, and had gone over to the ministry; he was therefore induced to decline all further hostility towards his Grace, and to abandon his intention, as it is conveyed in *Junius's* last letter to him, of attacking him again upon the sale of the patent to Mr. HINE. And it is observable, that though Mr. Boyd, in his political writings now published, pointedly attacks all the other persons who are satirized by *Junius*, he never once mentions the name of Grafton. Besides this motive for his discontinuing to write under the signature of *Junius*, there was another which, perhaps, operated still more powerfully on his mind. In the beginning of 1772, his pecuniary misfortunes and difficulties crowded upon him from every quarter; and this circumstance, together with his being obliged at this period to go frequently to Ireland, absolutely disabled him from bestowing that time and attention on his literary pursuits, which he had so successfully employed during the three preceding years, and without which he felt he could neither support with his
wonted

wanted vigour, so arduous a contest, nor preserve that secrecy which he was well aware his personal safety required. And doubtless he also considered that by continuing to write as *Junius* he might, from those causes, possibly lower, but could not, under such circumstances, easily heighten the reputation which his talents had gained to that signature.

Still, however, he carried on his correspondence with Woodfall during some part of the year 1772, with the same caution he had before observed. But, after the letters of *Junius* were published collectively for Woodfall with the Dedication, Preface, and Notes by the author, he seemed as if his mind had been relieved from a burden, and he never again was at *so much pains* to conceal from Mrs. Boyd the contents of the letters, he occasionally transmitted to the *Publick Advertiser*.

On the very day that the above mentioned edition of *Junius* was published, he brought home a copy of the work, and presented it to Mrs. Boyd, with an animation in his countenance that bespoke a kind
of

of regard for it, which none but its author could be supposed to have felt. In looking over the letters Mrs. Boyd was much struck, with finding an anecdote related in one of the notes, relative to Lord IRNHAM and *one of her guardians*, which she had in confidence *communicated to Mr. Boyd*, and which she knew had been very studiously kept secret by the parties concerned. This note was added to the last letter which *Junius* addressed to the Duke of Grafton; and in order that the reader may the more clearly comprehend the circumstance it records, I beg leave to cite it *verbatim*. "There is a *certain family* in this country," says *Junius*, "on which nature seems to have entailed an hereditary baseness of disposition. As far as their history has been known the son has regularly improved upon the vices of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successor. In the senate their abilities have confined them to those humble sordid services, in which the scavengers of the ministry are usually employed. But in the

" memoirs

" memoirs of private treachery they stand
 " first and unrivalled. The following story
 " will serve to illustrate the character of
 " this *respectable family*; and to convince
 " the world, that the present possessor has
 " as clear a title to the infamy of his an-
 " cestors as he has to their estate. It de-
 " serves to be recorded for the curiosity of
 " the fact, and should be given to the pub-
 " lick as a warning to every honest mem-
 " ber of society.

" The present Lord Ingham, who is now
 " in the decline of life, lately cultivated the
 " acquaintance of a younger brother of a fa-
 " mily with which he had lived in some degree
 " of intimacy and friendship. The young
 " man had long been the dupe of a most
 " unhappy attachment to a common prosti-
 " tute*. His friends and relations foresaw
 " the consequences of this connection, and
 " did every thing that depended on them to
 " save him from ruin. But he had a friend
 " in Lord Ingham, whose advice rendered
 " all their endeavours ineffectual. This

* The noted POLLY DAVIS.

"hoary lecher not contented with the en-
 "joyment of his friend's mistress, was base
 "enough to take advantage of the passions
 "and folly of the young man, and *persuad-*
 "*ed him to marry her.* He descended even
 "to perform the office of father to the
 "prostitute. He gave her to his friend
 "who was on the point of leaving the king-
 "dom, and the next night lay with her
 "himself."

"Whether the depravity of the human
 "heart can produce any thing more base
 "and detestable than this fact, must be left
 "undetermined until the *son shall arrive at*
 "*his father's age and experience.*"

The family herein alluded to, (the name
 I forbear to mention) consisted of three bro-
 thers, who were Mrs. Boyd's guardians, and
 in whose welfare and happiness she and Mr.
 Boyd were by consequence much interested.
 It was the youngest of the three who was Lord
 Irnham's particular friend, and whose friend-
 ship his Lordship so *faithfully* and *honour-*
ably requited. The noble Lord, however, had
 yet decency enough to conceal the circum-
 stance of the marriage from the censorious

eye of the publick; and he therefore exacted a promise from the parties, never to mention the particulars of it to any one. But the brothers of the unfortunate young man suspecting what had happened, importuned him so closely about it, that he at last confessed the whole of the transaction, and minutely related to them every thing concerning it. Yet they suppressed their resentment towards Lord Irnham, because they could not make the matter publick, without exposing the weakness of their brother: and for this reason, they adopted every possible precaution to prevent the story from going beyond the family. Nevertheless, Mrs. Boyd having been always considered as one of the family, it was not concealed from her; and she told it in confidence to Mr. Boyd, with precisely the same minuteness with which it is detailed in the note above quoted, a short time before the author's edition of *Junius* was published. Shocked at the infamous conduct of Lord Irnham, and feeling for the unhappy situation of the young man himself, no less than for the dishonour which had been put upon

upon a family with which Mrs. Boyd was so intimately connected, he was naturally desirous of resenting the injury his Lordship had done them, and he well knew that his pen was the only weapon, by which a heart like his Lordship's could be rendered sore.

If then we consider, that it was not only Lord Irnham's interest, but his wish, to bury the story in oblivion, that it was *peculiarly* the interest of Miss DAVIS to conform to his wishes, and that in fact his Lordship was so well convinced of *Junius* having received his information from the other party, *that he sent the young man a challenge*,—it amounts, I think, to a moral certainty, that the story was communicated to *Junius*, by the family themselves: and, therefore, calling to mind all the foregoing evidence in proof of Mr. Boyd having been the author of *Junius*, and at the same time coupling the circumstance of Mrs. Boyd having minutely related to him all the particulars of this story, with the fact, that she was the only person not immediately living in the family to whom these particulars were told,

told, and with the motive, as above explained, for his making them publick,—it must *at least* be admitted, that there is the very strongest probability, of his having written the note in question.

There are yet some other circumstances, which I conceive it to be of importance to state. — When the information was filed against Mr. Almon, for having sold some of the monthly magazines, into which *Junius's* address to His Majesty had been copied, Mr. Boyd shewed great anxiety about him, but did not however attend his trial, for a reason which I think Mr. Almon has satisfactorily explained in his first letter to me on this subject*. But when Mr. Woodfall's trial commenced, a few weeks afterwards, he attended it with the utmost solicitude†.

In *Junius's* Dedication, the author observes,—“that the King may possibly be

* See the Appendix to the Life.

† Mr. Boyd used to relate, that when Woodfall asked Sir John Day, (then Mr. Day), his opinion of his case, the learned gentleman replied, “There was only a hair's breadth between it and treason, but that it was a *horse hair*.”

“advised

“advised to dissolve the present parliament
“*a year or two* before it expires of course,
“and precipitate a new election, in hopes
“of taking the nation by surprise.”—Now
Mr. Boyd went over to Ireland in September 1774, and on the 30th of that month a proclamation was *very suddenly and unexpectedly* issued for dissolving the parliament; upon which he *immediately* wrote to Mrs. Boyd, *triumphantly* reminding her, that *Junius* had predicted the dissolution.

From this period, until the year in which he left England for India, he used occasionally to converse with Mrs. Boyd respecting *Junius*; and in those conversations he always asked her to point out to him the passages she most admired. A few weeks before he embarked for India with Lord Macartney, he burnt, with his own hands, several large bundles of manuscript papers, which, since the time that *Junius* ceased to write, he had kept carefully locked up; and he was so very particular in destroying them, that he stood over the fire, until they were entirely consumed, taking the greatest possible

possible care, that not even the smallest shred of them should escape the flames.

Some years after Mr. Boyd had gone to India, a paragraph* appeared in a morning paper, entitled the *General Advertiser*, purporting, "that *Junius* had certainly accompanied Lord Macartney to Madras, that he possessed the most retentive memory, and that he was an Irishman." When Mrs. Boyd saw this paragraph, she knew it alluded to Mr. Boyd, and fearful, lest the discovery of his having written the letters of *Junius*, might be prejudicial to his prospects in India, she sent a friend to the printer of the *General Advertiser*, to request he would not in future insert in his paper any paragraph alluding to Mr. Boyd. And at the same time she wrote to Mr. Boyd, enclosing him this paragraph, and urging him, if what it stated *was not true*, to contradict it without delay; as he must be sensible, if such a report gained credit, it would materially injure his best interest. But, to this request, though she frequently re-urged it to him,

* See this paragraph in Mr. Almon's first letter in the Appendix.

she

she never obtained a reply: He answered
 all the other parts of her letters: but that
 which related to *Janius* he constantly passed
 over in silence. Can it then be believed,
 that if he were not *Janius*, he would have
 persisted in not attending to Mrs. Boyd's
 earnest intreaties, when they so forcibly ap-
 pealed to his feelings? If he were not
Janius, by what motive could he have been
 situated, in remaining deaf to a solicitation,
 at once proper and necessary, and coming
 from her to whom he never in his life denied
 any thing else? If he were not *Janius*,
 surely he would have either complied with
 her request, or treated the above mentioned
 paragraph with ridicule. It may indeed be
 said, that he only wished to gratify an idle
 vanity, by endeavouring to make her be-
 lieve he was *Janius*: but vanity is ever
 too active and restless, to confine itself with-
 in so narrow a circle: Had he been desirous
 of being looked upon as the author of
Janius, his vanity would infallibly have
 prompted him to hint his wishes to others,
 as well as to Mrs. Boyd. Besides, his mind
 was far above that little sordid selfishness,
 which

which induces some men secretly to wish, that they might be considered by their friends as the authors of such anonymous writings as have attained celebrity. In truth, he was always desirous to conceal, even from Mrs. Boyd, that he had written those performances which we now know to be his, but which he never acknowledged, until the proofs against him were too strong to be denied. Even the love of fame, that fine incentive of generous minds, could not betray him into an ostentatious display of virtue, nor induce him to practise those arts that court applause*.

Such are the circumstances which rest upon the evidence of Mrs. Boyd; and from this plain statement of them, the truth of the following *facts*, which are essential to the point at issue, appears to be fully established.

1st. That Mr. Boyd kept up a constant correspondence with Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall, during the three successive years

* Ne famam quidem, cui etiam sæpi boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute, aut per artem quæsit. — *Tacit. in Vita Agricola.*

in which the letters signed *Junius* appeared in his paper, intitled the *Publick Advertiser*.

2d. That almost the whole of Mr. Boyd's time and attention, during those years, were occupied in that correspondence.

3d. That both before the commencement, and during the continuance of that correspondence, Mr. Boyd took great pains in accustoming himself to disguise his hand-writing.

4th. That from the time the first letter under the signature of *Junius* appeared, until the author of *Junius* published the whole of his letters in volumes, the numerous letters which Mr. Boyd sent to Woodfall, were written with the most impenetrable secrecy; that those letters were superscribed in his disguised hand-writing; and that they were conveyed to Woodfall's office, very often by Mrs. Boyd herself, and always with a caution and scrupulousness, proportioned to the degree of activity with which government at different periods endeavoured to discover the writer of *Junius*.

5th. That at the precise time *Junius* discontinued to write, Mr. Boyd likewise ceased

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ed to write for the *Publick Advertiser*, with that constancy, secrecy, and attention which from the *very week*, that *Junius* began to correspond with it, he had invariably observed.

6th. That the anecdote respecting Lord Irnham and Polly Davis, which is related in a note to one of *Junius's* letters, *must have been written* by Mr. Boyd.

7th. That he always shewed, when in company with Mrs. Boyd, a degree of anxiety and care about the writings of *Junius*, which no one but the author himself can be supposed to have felt; though in the presence of every other person he listened to whatever was said about *Junius* with the greatest apparent indifference.

8th. That Mrs. Boyd repeatedly told him, she had strong suspicions he was *Junius*; but that to all she said on that subject he was totally silent.

This is the sum of Mrs. Boyd's evidence; and the only part of it which seems to require explanation, is that which relates to Mr. Boyd having carried on his correspondence

spondence with Woodfall in a disguised hand-writing.

We are extremely apt to imagine, that a disguised hand-writing must necessarily be a cramped one, or must at least shew some distinguishing mark, by which a person who is in the constant habit of examining a variety of manuscripts, shall know it to be feigned, although he should not be acquainted with the writer's usual hand-writing. But this notion is, surely, very fanciful and erroneous: for, in the first place, it is not true, that a disguised hand-writing has always a cramped appearance;—being an attainment which can be acquired only through constant practice, practice will render it easy, and ease will of course free it from every thing like labour or restraint: and, in the next place, before any person can determine whether or not a hand-writing be disguised, it is absolutely necessary, either to be familiarly acquainted with the writer's common hand-writing, or to have an opportunity of attentively comparing the one with the other. Now, with respect to the case in question,

question, the fact is, that Mr. Boyd's disguised hand-writing has not any striking peculiarity *distinct from* his common hand-writing; there is nothing in the one, which would attract the notice of a person who *had not been* in the constant habit of seeing the other;—but, a person who *had been* in that habit, would immediately discern the resemblance between them; or a person of penetration, to whom the disguised hand-writing had once *been familiar*, would, upon a *close inspection* of the common one, be satisfied, that they were very much alike.

The following evidence, fully justifies this account of Mr. Boyd's hand-writing, and at the same time proves that the manuscript of *Junius* strongly resembled it.

Mr. Almon was very familiarly acquainted with Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing, at the time of the original publication of *Junius's* letters; and he declares that at that period he had an opportunity of seeing the manuscript of *Junius*, which to him appeared

peared to have a strong similitude to Mr. Boyd's hand-writing *.

Mr. T. BURTON, of Gate-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, a very respectable master-printer, has declared to me in the presence of another gentleman,—that he was a journeyman printer in Mr. H. S. Woodfall's office, at the time of the original publication of *Junius's* letters; that he was one of the compositors employed on those letters; and that he used frequently to remark to his fellow-journeymen, how much the hand-writing of *Junius* resembled his own;—and he moreover told me, that if he saw the hand-writing again, he was confident he should know it. I then shewed him some of Mr. Boyd's *disguised hand-writing*, which he instantly said, “he sincerely believed to be the same hand as the manuscript of “*Junius*.” I also compared Mr. Burton's own hand-writing with Mr. Boyd's, to which it certainly bears an obvious affinity. Considering Mr. Burton's evidence of some im-

* For the detail of this evidence, see Mr. Almon's first letter in the Appendix to the Life.

portance,

portance, I have examined him twice very closely on the subject, and have found him perfectly consistent and accurate.

The evidence of Mr. Almon, and Mr. Burton, in itself very strong, is corroborated by the testimony of Woodfall's foreman, who superintended the printing of the letters of *Junius*, and who says he has a perfect recollection of the manuscript of those letters, and that it resembled the hand-writing of Mr. Boyd.

Upon the whole, therefore, it appears clear, that the manuscript of *Junius* bore such a resemblance to Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing, as that those, *but those only* *, who were

* Mr. William Woodfall has publicly declared, "that his brother Mr. H. S. Woodfall shewed him the whole of the letters of *Junius*, in manuscript, and that they did not bear the appearance of being written in a disguised hand." But to have made his declaration of any importance in this investigation, he should have proved that the common hand-writing of Mr. Boyd had been familiar to him, before he saw that of *Junius*, and that they bore no resemblance to each other. Now the fact is, that Mr. W. Woodfall knew very little either of Mr. Boyd, or his hand-writing; and that he is consequently incompetent to determine, whether or not the MSS. of *Junius* was Mr. Boyd's disguised

were *very familiarly acquainted* with the one, would, upon an *examination* of the other, suspect that they were both written by the same person. And the evidence of Mr. Burton of itself affords a strong probability, that the letters of *Junius* were written in Mr. Boyd's disguised hand.

That the author of *Junius* did in fact disguise his hand-writing, must be evident to every man of observation. Would a man of his acknowledged sagacity, have voluntarily placed himself at the mercy of Mr. Woodfall, by carrying on an important correspondence with him in his ordinary hand-writing, which it was necessary for his personal safety to conceal? Would a person so well acquainted with mankind as he was, have put such implicit confidence in Mr. Woodfall, as to carry on that corre-

disguised hand-writing. His declaration then only proves that the MSS. of *Junius* resembled the disguised hand of Mr. Boyd, inasmuch as that there was nothing in it so peculiar as to attract the notice even of a person who was accustomed to examine different manuscripts. For his expression, "*that it did not bear the appearance of being disguised,*" must mean, that the hand-writing in question had no striking peculiarity.

spondence

spondence in the same hand-writing in which he transacted his private business, and thereby to furnish him with a key to that secret which it was his avowed intention never to divulge? If *Junius* had written his letters in his common hand, would he not have exposed himself to unnecessary hazard? By writing his letters in his common hand, would he not have run a great risque of being detected, if any person well acquainted with it had chanced to have seen the manuscript of *Junius*, or if Mr. Woodfall, or any of his printers had chanced to have met with any of his private letters or cards? How can it be imagined, that *Junius* was a man of so little foresight, as to run these risques; when, by disguising his hand-writing he could completely secure himself from them, and even from being suspected on account of his manuscript,—except some one should chance to see it, to whom his common hand-writing was perfectly familiar?—Now the fact upon this point, satisfactorily shews, that the author of *Junius* would certainly have laid himself open to detection, if by writing his letters

in his common hand, he had imprudently relied on the caution and secrecy of Mr. Woodfall: for, Mr. Woodfall not only made a practice of shewing the manuscript of *Junius* to his brother, and some other of his friends, but also of reading it, before publication, to people with whom he was very slightly acquainted: and in one instance in particular, he took one of *Junius*'s letters from his pocket, which *he said he had just received*, and placing it on the table of a tavern, at a meeting composed of Bookfellers, and Printers of News-papers, read it aloud to the company*.

The last evidence which I shall bring forward, is that of Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall himself; as his *negative testimony* in this question, is not wholly unworthy of observation.

I have already stated, that Mr. H. S. Woodfall has permitted his brother to confess for him, *that he never did, nor does not now, know who in reality was the author of Junius*; that it appears, he at one time sus-

* See this circumstance detailed, and its truth established in Mr. Almon's first letter in the Appendix.

pected Mr. Boyd to be that very person; and that he has now an evident interest in concealing his suspicions from the world. These are facts unquestionable; and which, therefore, I have too great a respect for Mr. H. S. Woodfall's character, to suppose he would upon his honour deny.

In the beginning of May 1798, I wrote to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, informing him, that I was authorized by Mrs. Boyd, to collect and publish Mr. Boyd's political writings, and that I should therefore be greatly obliged to him, for his opinion with regard to Mr. Almon's assertion that Mr. Boyd was the *real author of Junius*. To this request I received no written answer; but in the course of a few days Mr. H. S. Woodfall called at my apartments in Leicester-square, when I chanced to be from home. I then called on him at his house at Chelsea, when he distinctly told me in the presence of Mr. William Woodfall and a young lady, "that he did not believe "Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius*; "although he was *certainly a man of great "abilities.*" I asked him, if Mr. Boyd had

at any time sent letters to the *Publick Advertiser*? He replied "that Mr. Boyd had sent him *several* communications on the affairs of India, in 1776, or 1777; but that he did not recollect he had ever sent him any letters for the *Publick Advertiser*, before those years, or that he had ever written on any other subjects, than such as related to India." To this I made no answer; but proceeded to ask him, if he had preserved any of the manuscript of *Junius*? He said he had not. I asked him, if he thought Mr. W. G. Hamilton was the author of *Junius*? He said, "No, most assuredly he was not; and as to the story about Hamilton quoting *Junius* to the Duke of Richmond, he knew it to be a misconception."—Such was the first conversation I had with Mr. H. S. Woodfall respecting Mr. Boyd; and I have related it *verbatim*, as I took it down on paper a few minutes after I left his house.

Nothing further passed between us, till the beginning of March 1799, when I again wrote to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, telling him, that as I knew it to be a fact, that Mr.

Boyd

Boyd had kept up a constant and uninterrupted correspondence with the *Publick Advertiser* from January 1769, till the spring of 1772, and that as I was authorized by Mrs. Boyd to request he would point out any one of the numerous letters which Mr. Boyd had transmitted to him during that period, I begged he would favour me by doing so. He returned a polite verbal answer by my servant, saying I might rely on hearing from him in the course of ten days. After having waited upwards of two months for his answer, I called on him on the 10th of May 1799, at his house at Chelsea, in company with a friend of mine, whom I had purposely brought along with me, and upon whose accuracy in recollecting what should pass between Mr. Woodfall and me, I could place the most implicit reliance.

We found Mr. Woodfall alone: he seemed not a little disconcerted at our visit, and immediately told me "that he could recollect nothing whatever, of any letters sent by Mr. Boyd to him, during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772; that

“ that Mr. Boyd was *unquestionably* a very
 “ *able* writer, though at the same time he
 “ could not give in to the idea of his hav-
 “ ing written the letters of *Junius*.” I
 waved the *direct* question about *Junius*,
 and told him “ I only wished him to point
 “ out to me *any one* of the letters which
 “ Mr. Boyd sent to him in the course of
 “ the years above mentioned.” He repeat-
 ed, “ that he had *no recollection whatever* of
 “ *any such letters*.” We then withdrew,
 fully satisfied that Woodfall had more
 knowledge of the letters I inquired for,
 than he chose to avow.

Thus then Mr. H. S. Woodfall declines
 to give any account whatever of that long
 and close correspondence between him and
 Mr. Boyd, which I have incontrovertibly
 proved to have *commenced and ended pre-
 cisely at the same points of time*, with that
 which subsisted between him and *Junius*.
 Mr. Woodfall has indeed permitted his bro-
 ther to declare for him*, “ That it is con-
 trary to all custom to break into the confi-

* See Mr. William Woodfall's letter, in the *Morning
 Chronicle*, of the 16th of August 1799.

dential secrecy of a News-paper printer; and that I ought not therefore to be *surprised*, that he never answered questions, the avowed object of which was, to invite him to *betray the confidence* Mr. Boyd had *placed in him*."—What is this but a pretty plain admission of the fact, that the letters which *he thinks* (Mr. H. S. Woodfall has said, *he did not know* that Mr. Boyd had written for the *Publick Advertiser* before 1776) Mr. Boyd wrote during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, and which appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*, in those years, were not intended by him to be acknowledged as his own productions, and that he (Mr. Woodfall) considers it would be *betraying the confidence* reposed in him, to point out to the publick the letters in question. This conduct on the part of Mr. H. S. Woodfall I am not at all disposed to blame. I am sure I did not wish him to deviate from what he conceived, to be his duty, much less to betray any thing which he thought himself bound to conceal. I knew he had *very sufficient motives* for being reserved with respect to the author of *Junius*,
and

and I did not, therefore, imagine he would have told me the purport of that series of letters which were secretly transmitted to him in the above mentioned years, more especially when I assured him, that there was *positive evidence* of Mr. Boyd having written them. In truth, Mr. H. S. Woodfall has acknowledged as much concerning them as I expected, if not as much as I could have desired; and his acknowledgements, together with Mrs. Boyd's evidence, have brought the general question within a very narrow compass. For, as it is now ascertained beyond all doubt, that Mr. Boyd wrote a *continued series* of letters, with the greatest possible secrecy, for the *Publick Advertiser*, during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, it remains only to determine what those letters were, and under what signatures they appeared. Now the fact is, that there *was no other* writer but *Junius*, who sent gratuitous contributions to the *Publick Advertiser* *uninterruptedly and secretly* during the whole of those three successive years. How this fact came to my knowledge it is no way necessary

fary to inform the publick, because Mr. H. S. Woodfall will not—*cannot*, IN TRUTH, deny it. As *Junius*, therefore, was the only writer who sent letters to the *Publick Advertiser* within the period of time above stated, and according to the manner herein described; and as it has been proved that Mr. Boyd did constantly send letters to the *Publick Advertiser*, during the whole of that time, and exactly according to that manner, it inevitably follows, that the letters which Mr. Boyd transmitted to that paper, in the course of that time, were those very letters which then appeared in it, under the signatures of *Junius* and *Philo-Junius*, of *Lucius* and *Brutus*.

Such then is the detail of the whole of the evidence in this investigation. Let the reader weigh well the facts that have been established. In one view, let it be considered that Mr. Boyd was perfectly qualified in every respect to have been the writer of the letters of *Junius*;—that his avowed political writings bear so striking a similitude to those letters, not only in the principles they inculcate, in the opinions they support, and

and in the characters they praise or censure, but also in the energy and elegance of their style, and in the strength and refinement of their spirit—that it must be presumed they are the compositions of the same mind;—that his motives in writing the letters of *Junius*, and in concealing from the world that he was the author of them, were perfectly consistent with the political principles he professed, as well as with the political connexions he had formed;—that he actually kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with the *Publick Advertiser* during the three successive years that *Junius* wrote for that paper;—that he carried on that correspondence with the most impenetrable secrecy;—that the letters which he sent to the *Publick Advertiser* were superscribed in a disguised hand, and were conveyed to Mr. H. S. Woodfall's office often by Mrs. Boyd herself, and always with the most extraordinary degree of caution;—that he at all times manifested to Mrs. Boyd, but to her only, an interest and anxiety about the letters of *Junius*, which no one but the author of them can be supposed to have felt;—that
often,

often, when Mrs. Boyd told him, she strongly suspected he was *Junius*, he invariably evaded the question;—that when it was reported in a publick paper, that he was *Junius*, though he knew that such a report might very materially injure his prospects in life, and though Mrs. Boyd most earnestly urged him to contradict it, he never took the smallest notice of it, and observed the most cautious silence with regard to all she said on the subject. In addition to these strong presumptive proofs, let it also be considered, that the resemblance between Mr. Boyd's disguised and common hand-writing, though not discernible by persons who were little acquainted with them, was perfectly obvious to those to whom either the one or the other was familiar; that Mr. Almon, who was in the constant habit of seeing Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing, and who saw the manuscript of *Junius*, positively declares there was a strong similitude between them; that on the other hand, the person who superintended the printing of the letters of *Junius*, who was consequently familiarized with the hand in which they were

were written, and to whom Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing has been shewn, declares there is a striking likeness between them;—that a respectable printer, who was employed in printing the letters of *Junius*, declares that the manuscript of those letters, and the disguised hand of Mr. Boyd appear to him to have been written by the same person: but above all let it be considered, that Mr. Boyd *must in fact have written*, that anecdote related by *Junius* respecting Lord Irnham;—that he in fact commenced and ended his correspondence with the *Publick Advertiser*, which he carried on with *such secrecy, and without interruption, precisely at the same points of time at which Junius began and ceased to write for that paper*; and finally as *Junius was in fact the only writer who wrote for the Publick Advertiser, secretly and uninterruptedly, during the whole of the period that has been stated*, Mr. Boyd and *Junius* must consequently have been one and the same person. Let all these facts be duly weighed, and let the reader bear in mind the evidence that has been adduced, as well as the arguments that have been

urged in support of them, together with the declaration of *Junius*, that he was the *sole depository of his own secret*, and *that it should perish with him*, and with the confession of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, that he *does not know who Junius was*, and with the fact that no well-founded objection has been made to the assertion that Mr. Boyd was the undoubted *author of Junius*, although two years have now elapsed since it was first broached; and lastly, with the equally important fact, that all the other persons to whom the letters of *Junius* have been attributed, are now dead, and that not a single circumstance has come to light, to justify the surmises upon which the belief of their having written *Junius* altogether rested. Let the whole be calmly and maturely taken into the reader's view, and I confidently trust that he will pronounce with me, that HUGH BOYD, AND HUGH BOYD ONLY, WAS THE REAL AUTHOR OF JUNIUS.

It remains, to say a few words relative to those to whom the letters of *Junius* have at different times been ascribed; in order to shew that the suppositions which have been

been entertained as to their having written those letters, are not only unsupported by any one fact, but are, in truth, highly improbable.

Were I to enumerate all the persons whom vague conjecture has occasionally named, as the probable authors of *Junius*, I should fill, at least, a couple of pages to very little purpose. I shall, therefore, confine myself to those only, whose talents, opinions, and connexions, gave a plausible colour to the rumours, that they had written the letters of *Junius*.

Those letters have been attributed to Lord Sackville, to Lord George Germain, to Mr. John Dunning, to Mr. Richard Burke, to Mr. W. G. Hamilton, to Mr. Edmund Burke, and, by a few people, to the learned Mr. Samuel Dyer. Of these gentlemen, the three last mentioned are the only ones respecting whom I conceive it necessary to make any observation.

Mr. W. G. Hamilton was unquestionably a man of considerable abilities, nor do I doubt, that he was fully capable of writing the letters of *Junius*, and I know his poli-

tical principles and opinions differed very little from those which they invariably maintain. But the only circumstance which gave rise to the supposition of his being *Junius*, was his having quoted, in conversation with the Duke of Richmond, a passage from one of *Junius's* letters, before it appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*. For the exact truth of this circumstance I cannot take it upon me to vouch. I have, however, good reason to believe, that Mr. Hamilton had more than once heard a letter of *Junius's* read to him before it was published, which sufficiently explains the seeming mystery, respecting the quotation he made to the Duke of Richmond. Those who may not be satisfied with this explanation, will at least give credit to Mr. Hamilton's own words; and it is a positive fact, that he solemnly declared on his death-bed,—“*That he was not the author of Junius.*”

With regard to the supposition that Mr. Burke was *Junius*, it would be needless to say much. A thorough knowledge of the characteristick qualities of his great mind, and of his incomparable writings, as well as
of

of those of the letters of *Junius*, were alone sufficient to convince every judicious reader, that he was not the writer of those performances. Of Mr. Burke's unrivalled talents, it has been well observed by the most eloquent philosopher; and one of the first writers of the present day, *that he was* "a writer who
 "was admired by all mankind for his elo-
 "quence, but who is, if possible, still more
 "admired by all competent judges for his
 "philosophy; a writer of whom I may just-
 "ly say, that he was GRAVISSIMUS ET DE-
 "CENDI ET INTELLIGENDI AUCTOR ET
 "MAGISTER *." This character may with perfect truth be given to every thing that Mr. Burke has written. Throughout all his various productions, the sober dignity of true philosophy prevails over every other excellence, brightening the driest details with the clear light of reason, and controuling the loftiest flights of imagination with the sovereign majesty of wisdom. *Junius* though often grave, is never profound.

* See Mr. MACKINTOSH's admirable Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations, introduction to a course of lectures on that science.

though he often presents moral and political truths in the most alluring dress, he never examines their essence; though his precepts are often wise, his sentiments noble, and his observations acute, he never penetrates beyond the surface of things: his prevailing excellencies are the precision and clearness of his reasoning, the vigour, pungency, and terseness of his style. In his argument he always confines himself to the point at issue, and even in his declamations he seldom digresses. Whereas Mr. Burke never wrote on any subject whatever, without searching it to the bottom, examining it thoroughly in all its minutest bearings, and finally tracing it to its remotest consequences. It may indeed be said, that Mr. Burke could have restrained the natural bent of his genius, and that he possibly thought popular letters, like those of *Junius*, should touch only upon those simple and obvious principles by which men are actuated in common life, and should therefore be addressed to the heart and the affections, rather than to the understanding. That he could have adopted any style and manner he

VOL. I. *m* thought

thought proper, his admirable imitation of Bolingbroke very sufficiently proves; but that he should have "*laboured incessantly*" for three whole years to write letters of a sort so different from his other productions, as well as so inferior to them, in point of genuine and substantial merit, and that at a time when he had such a multiplicity of important concerns to attend to, appears to me so very improbable, that, I confess, I am somewhat surprised that *his friends* should ever have given the smallest degree of credit to the report; more especially as the opinion of *Junius* on two material questions, was totally different from that which Mr. Burke and the Rockingham party strenuously supported †.

If any thing be yet wanting to shew the improbability of Mr. Burke having written

* I have already shewn, that *Junius* himself acknowledges the labour which the composition of his letters had cost him.

† Mr. Burke was, throughout his whole life, a decided and firm supporter of the septennial act;—whereas *Junius* was a zealous advocate for triennial parliaments. Mr. Grenville's Colonial Laws were approved of by *Junius* but *severely condemned* by Mr. Burke.

the letters of *Junius*, let it be recollected that he himself *spontaneously* declared to Doctor Johnson, "that he had no concern whatever in those letters*."

The conjecture that Mr. Samuel Dyer was the writer of *Junius's* letters, is, I think, still less plausible than that which has been entertained respecting Mr. Hamilton or Mr. Burke.

Mr. Dyer was a citizen of London. He was the son of a respectable jeweller in Cheapside, who having acquired a competent fortune, liberally employed it in the education of his children. The father being himself a zealous dissenter, intended his son Samuel for the dissenting ministry; and for that purpose placed him at Dr. Doddridge's academy at Northampton. He was afterwards sent to the college of Glasgow under the immediate care of the celebrated Dr. Hutcheson, and he completed his studies at Leyden, under the famous Schultens.

Mr. Dyer was eminently qualified to shine in the profession for which his father

† See Boswell's Life of Johnson.

intended him; but having in the course of his philosophical pursuits, become a sceptick in religion, he relinquished all thoughts of ascending the pulpit, and launched at once into all the pleasures and dissipations of London. Being, however, a man of great talents, and of very extensive learning, as well as of a refined taste in literature, he neglected not to cultivate the acquaintance of those whose minds were congenial to his own. He soon became known to Doctor Johnson, Mr. Burke, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, with the former of whom, he lived for some years on terms of great intimacy; and it is related by Hawkins and Boswell, that the Doctor always looked up to him, on philosophical subjects*. He seems to have been considered by Johnson as a profound metaphysician, and as a man deeply read in every branch

* Johnson, in his Life of Watts, quotes the opinion of Mr. Dyer, respecting Watts's metaphysical disquisition. "It was observed," says he,—“by the late learned Mr. Dyer, that Watts confounded the idea of *space* with the idea of *empty space*, and did not consider that though *space* might be without matter, yet matter being extended, it could not be without space.”

of scholastick knowledge; and it is observed by Hawkins, "that he conversed very ably on most topics." But his abilities were rendered useless to himself and to the world by an habitual indolence, which his dissipated course of life originally brought on, in which it was his delight to indulge, and which neither the solicitations of friendship, nor the calls of poverty could induce him to use any endeavours to conquer. The small patrimony which his father had left him, being insufficient to support his expences, he was reduced to the greatest distress; and Johnson, in order to procure him some relief, strongly pressed* him to write the Life of Erasmus, but all his persuasions were of no avail, he would not undertake it. He was, however, at last prevailed on to revise the old translation of Plutarch's Lives, which he executed after many heavy complaints of the labour of the task, and for which he received from Draper, the partner of Tonson, the sum of

* See Hawkins's Life of Johnson, from which the greatest part of my information respecting Mr. Dyer is derived.

two hundred pounds. By the death of his mother he became possessed of 8000*l.* which he invested in India stock; and offered himself as a candidate for a seat in the court of Directors. But his prosperity was short-lived. He entered into engagements for the purchase and sale of stock; and from his total ignorance of business, he at once injured his reputation and lost the whole of his property. This disaster he did not long survive; and he died in the utmost indigence, "leaving not," says Hawkins, "in money or effects sufficient to defray the expence of a decent funeral."

How a person of this description, whom the strongest possible incitements could never prevail upon to write any thing but a short Preface to a translation of Plutarch's Lives, should have been suspected of having written the letters of *Junius*, might seem a little strange, if we did not know from what very slight and trivial circumstances, suspicions of this nature arise. I understand, however, that Sir Joshua Reynolds supposed Mr. Dyer to have been *Junius*, because he heard Mr. Dyer and Mr.

Mr. Burke make the same remarks in conversation, which he afterwards found in *Junius's* letters; because Mr. Dyer's death happened a few months subsequent to the period at which *Junius* ceased to send letters to Mr. Woodfall; and because Mr. Richard Burke went in great haste to Mr. Dyer's apartments, the instant he heard of his death, and requested as a very particular favour of his executors, that he might be permitted to destroy a sealed box of papers belonging to the deceased, which he said was of the utmost importance to him, but could be of no service to any one else. As these circumstances were related to me, merely on report, I cannot pretend to say whether they are authentic or not; but if they had any influence with Sir Joshua, he must surely have been unacquainted with the true character of Mr. Dyer, which precludes the belief of Mr. Burke and his brother having connected themselves with him in a literary undertaking, which required such unremitting attention, as that of the letters of *Junius*.

I hope

I hope the reader is fully satisfied, that neither Mr. W. G. Hamilton, Mr. Edmund Burke, nor Mr. Samuel Dyer, had any concern whatever, in composing the letters of *Junius*; and that the fact of HUGH BOYD having been the *true* and *only* author of those productions, will by consequence appear the more evident. And I now close this investigation, with the entire consciousness that every part of the evidence which I have brought forward, is founded in the strictest veracity; and with the firm conviction, that the facts established by that evidence will bear me out in the conclusion I have drawn.

IT has been already mentioned that Mr. Boyd took a house at Kenton-Green, near Harrow, in the summer of 1771. At this place he resided for upwards of five years, both with a view to avoid the expences of a town life, and to be near the sons of a deceased sister, who were, during that period, at Harrow school. For these youths

he

he shewed all the tenderness, anxiety, and provident care of a father. He never missed an opportunity of having them at his table, when he had company calculated either to improve their minds, or to afford them innocent amusement: and he was particularly attentive, in preventing them from coming to his house, when he had parties with him who were either too jovial in their pleasures, or too free in their conversation,—forgetting not the admonition of JUVENAL—

Nil dictu foedum, visuque hæc limba tangat,

Intra quæ puer est. —————

Maxima debetur puero reverentia. —————

Some months after the letters of *Junius* were published collectively, Boyd met Sir William Draper at the tennis-court, where their acquaintance was originally formed in the year 1769, and where (being both great tennis-players) they used often to meet, the conversation turning upon *Junius*, Sir William observed, “that though *Junius* had “treated him with extreme severity, he now “looked upon him as a very honest fellow, “—that he freely forgave him for the bitter-

“ness of his censures, and that there was no
 “man with whom he would more gladly
 “drink a bottle of old *Burgundy**.” Boyd
 took no notice of the observation; but after
 playing at tennis till a late hour, he pro-
 posed to Sir William, that they should dine
 together at a favourite tavern. The Knight
 readily consented to the proposal; and he
 enjoyed his *Burgundy*, while Boyd had the
 inward satisfaction of doing justice to his
 candour, as well as to his wishes.

Mr. Boyd at this time used to be much
 in the society of Armstrong and Goldsmith,
 especially with the latter, whose ill state of
 health had induced him to take a country
 lodging at the Hide, on the Edgware-road,
 about three miles distant from Kenton-
 Green. Goldsmith often walked across the
 fields to Mr. Boyd’s, and would pass several
 days with him. Their conversation, as may
 be readily expected, was always on literary
 and critical topics; and Goldsmith used to
 inform Boyd of the different works he had

* This was Sir William’s favourite wine. The *br-
 witching smiles of Burgundy*, had an irresistible influence on
 his heart.

in contemplation, and to relate to him all that passed at the celebrated *Literary Club*, in Gerrard-street. On these occasions, Boyd observed, "that his friend Goldsmith never committed any of those absurdities, nor betrayed any of that idle and clumsy affectation of wit, which too frequently rendered him the sport of Richard Burke, Garrick, and the other wicked wags at the *Club* *." Goldsmith used to criticise Pope's epistolary style; and once that he dined at Boyd's, he condemned it in severe terms, and gave a specimen of what a familiar letter should be.

A few months before Goldsmith's death, Boyd having heard from Richard Burke, that *little Noll*, as they used to call him, had been severely attacked at the Club, and that he meditated a poetical reply, immediately went to him, in order to dissuade him from an attempt, in which he conceived there was little chance of his succeeding. He found

* Goldsmith had no talent for repartee: yet he could not divest himself of that ridiculous notion, too prevalent in the learned world,—that when a man of genius is in company, it is necessary he should be a wit.

him

him busily employed in giving the last polish to some parts of his well-known and admirable poem of *Retaliation*, which the Doctor read to him in great triumph, requesting his opinion as to its merits. Boyd told him that he thought the aggressors extremely reprehensible, and that they were entitled to no quarter; but fearful lest the severity with which he had drawn the characters of the Burkes, would not only put an end to the friendship which subsisted between them and Goldsmith, but likewise disturb the harmony which prevailed in the Club, induced him to soften several expressions, and intirely to cast anew the character of William Burke. As Goldsmith had an high opinion of Boyd's critical taste, he was much pleased with the emendations he had suggested; and he begged of him to call again in a few days, when the poem should be completed, that he might submit the remainder of it to his perusal, and that they might read the whole of it over attentively together. But Goldsmith did not live to carry his plan into execution. He died, unexpectedly, of a nervous fever; and when

his

his friend Boyd, who had not heard even of his illness, called on him at the appointed time, a singular circumstance occurred. He inquired of the maid-servant who opened the door at Goldsmith's lodgings, whether the Doctor was at home? she answered, *yes*.— He asked, if he might see him? and she made the same reply; upon which he ran up stairs, when on entering his apartment he was shocked beyond description, at seeing poor Goldsmith extended in his coffin.

This event took place in March 1774. In the course of this year Boyd paid greater attention than he had yet done to the study of the law; and though he disliked the practice of that profession, his pecuniary necessities, together with the advices of his friends, seemed for a while to prevail over his natural inclination. Nevertheless, he did not withdraw himself, either from the literary, or fashionable circles with which he had been accustomed to associate; and his ardour for politicks still continued unabated. He constantly attended the Houses of Parliament, but merely for his own gratification

tification and amusement: and the day after an important debate, he used to write down, intirely from memory, the speeches of those great men, whose political opinions accorded with his own, and whose eloquence he most admired. Some of those speeches he occasionally published; and the extraordinary accuracy with which they were reported, astonished all who had heard them. There was, in particular, one speech of Lord Camden's in the House of Lords, on the dispute with the American Colonies, of which, when it was published, Mr. Burke, who had heard it, declared *in Boyd's presence*, that not only the sentiments, but the expressions were so exact in every part, that his Lordship must have written it himself. He was afterwards informed that Boyd had reported it.

Mr. Boyd was such an enthusiast in politics, that he actually sacrificed both his private pleasures and personal convenience, in attending the proceedings in parliament. At a particular time, when the orders of the House of Commons were extremely strict, in excluding all strangers, except Irish

mem-

members*, he attempted to gain admittance, by passing for one; but the door-keeper knew

* Before the year 1770, strangers were seldom or ever admitted into the gallery of the House of Commons; and no regular accounts of the proceedings in Parliament were suffered to be printed in the newspapers until the year following, when a circumstance occurred that induced Parliament to comply with the wishes of the people, by allowing their debates to be published in the daily papers. The Printer of the *London Evening Post*, having been ordered to attend at the bar of the House of Commons, for a breach of privilege, in having printed a report of their proceedings, he positively refused to obey their summons, upon which they sent a messenger to take him into custody. But the Printer, foreseeing what would happen, applied to Mr. Wilkes, then an alderman of London, to afford him his protection, in case the messenger should attempt to take him by force. As it was expected, the messenger insisted on taking the Printer into custody; the Printer charged him with an assault, and a constable instantly appeared, who took the messenger to the Mansion-house, before the Lord-Mayor, (Crosby) Alderman Oliver, and Mr. Wilkes, who would have committed him without hesitation, had he not been bailed by the Deputy Serjeant at Arms. The House of Commons, in consequence of this, sent the Lord-Mayor and Alderman Oliver to the Tower, *not chusing to touch Mr. Wilkes*; but finding the spirit of the people rise high against their proceedings, they deemed it prudent to release the Lord-Mayor and Oliver, to give up the contest, and

knew him too well to be deceived by the stratagem, and refused to let him enter the House. Boyd, as it was his custom, endeavoured to soften the man into compliance when GEORGE DEMPSTER, (then one of the Directors of the East-India Company) happening to pass at the time, and over-hearing what was said, rebuked the door-keeper, and asked Boyd his name. Having gone too far to recede, he replied, *William member for Antrim*, which name Mr. Dempster gave to the Speaker, and then ushered Boyd up to the gallery, where he of course remained unmolested. The next morning he went to breakfast at Mr. Laurence Maclean's, where he had hardly sat down, when Mr. Dempster was announced, and fearful of being discovered, he thought it prudent to make a precipitate retreat to the no small surprise of Maclean, who knew nothing of the circumstance that had taken place the preceding evening. Boyd and Dempster afterwards became acquainted

and in future to suffer their debates to be published. See a particular Account of this Affair in Mr. Atterbury's Library, Biographical, and Political Anecdotes.

Yet

Yet he was not so much occupied with politicks, as to neglect the elegant pursuits of polite literature, or the tender duties of private friendship. He had formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr. HARTSON, (author of the tragedy of the Countess of Salisbury, a piece which still holds its place on the stage) a young man of fine parts, great accomplishments, and amiable manners; and who, before the age of thirty, had made the tour of Europe three times. Being of a consumptive habit, and at this time in extreme ill health, Mr. Boyd invited him to his house at Kenton-Green, that he might have the benefit of change of air: but his malady was too far advanced to admit of any cure; and neither the power of medicine, nor the soothing, but cheerful friendship of Boyd, could afford him any effectual relief. After living many weeks at Kenton-Green, Mr. Hartson returned to town, and died in a few days, without leaving any other effects, than a few manuscript poems and plays, to GRIFFIN the bookseller, whom he had appointed his executor, and to whom he had probably been indebted.

ed. Boyd knowing Hartson's distressed circumstances, called on Griffin the moment he heard of his death, and generously offered his services. Griffin begged he would order and manage the funeral, which he did, and for which Griffin afterwards refused to pay, scandalously, if not falsely, pleading in excuse, that the manuscripts were of no value. Boyd's friendship for the deceased, would have amply compensated in his mind for the loss he had thus sustained, if his own wants had not been already so numerous, and at the same time so rapidly increasing. For this was not the only instance in which he met with still heavier losses, through his ardent and unbounded generosity, through his love of literature, and his admiration of genius: and once or twice, indeed, by allowing artful, needy, and *false friends* to take advantage of the easiness and moderation of his temper, he reduced himself to the greatest distress, in order to rescue them from that doom, the utmost rigours of which, their base and shameless ingratitude subsequently proved them to have deserved.

On all those occasions, however, he had many real friends, whose prompt and active kindness soon extricated him from his difficulties.

With his friend Mr. Stuart, of Hampstead, he used at this period, very constantly, to associate; and at his cheerful and hospitable table he enjoyed the society of his old friends Lauchlin Maclean and the excellent Doctor Armstrong, together with many other gentlemen, distinguished for their genius and learning. These literary parties, after passing some days at Hampstead, would often, at the suggestion of Armstrong, remove their sittings to the Devil-Tavern, in Fleet-street, a house much noted as the resort of the wits of those days, where they concluded their classick revels, with the same spirit and harmony with which they had commenced them.

Mr. Stuart told me, that Armstrong and Boyd used to have long critical discussions about the style of *Junius*, which the Doctor always censured, as being too affected and sententious, and which Boyd invariably, but calmly, defended, as being the best adapted

to the subject to which it was applied. Yet I have often heard him express his high opinion of Armstrong's exact critical discrimination, and fine taste; though on political subjects he said they never agreed, as the Doctor was a staunch Tory,—but he used to add,—he was a *liberal Tory*.

It was his practice, however, to avoid politicks as much as possible in private company, and he was always particularly cautious in what he said of publick characters;—but for Lord Chatham's abilities and virtues, his veneration was so high, that he could not suppress his indignation, when he heard any attempt made to lower them.

In January 1775, he published the first of those speeches of Lord Chatham's, which are inserted in this volume. His Lordship delivered it on the 20th of that month, on Lord Dartmouth's motion for an address to his Majesty, “beseeching him to open a way
“towards the settlement of the troubles
“America.” Of this speech, the wonderful powers of his memory, together with his having long accustomed his mind to Lord Chatham's “peculiar energy of style and
“sentiment

“sentiment,” enabled him to retain the most perfect recollection; and Lord Temple, and many others who heard it, used to say, that Mr. Boyd’s report was *verbatim* as it was spoken: but it is, if possible, still more extraordinary, that after eighteen years had elapsed, I have heard him repeat the greatest part of it. Mr. Boyd’s mode of writing down speeches from memory, was altogether peculiar, and therefore deserves to be recorded. He never took any notes of the speeches he had heard; but after attending a long debate in parliament, he would sup at a tavern with some friends, return home at two or three in the morning, go to bed directly, rise about seven, and write down such speeches as he had most admired in the course of the debate, without once looking at any of the newspaper reports, to facilitate his recollection. This is an absolute fact, which many of his friends have often witnessed.

It may perhaps be asked, how a man of such uncommon abilities, never got any publick employment in this country? And how he came to be overlooked by his friends

in high life? But those who best know the road to preferment, will easily resolve these questions, when they are informed, that there was nothing he so much disliked, as soliciting favours from the great; and that there was nothing so repugnant to his feelings, as the idea of being politically connected with men whom he despised. And every man of the world knows full well, by what slow degrees, unassuming genius, or indigent virtue, obtain the patronage of the powerful and the rich.—

*HAUD facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi.—*

Yet, though Boyd was so little anxious, it may be so blameably careless, about the advancement of his own private fortune, he was indefatigably zealous in promoting the views of his friends, and the interests of his country; no man ever loved the one with more sincerity, or the other with greater ardour.

Nor in attending to these home-felt concerns, did he overlook the lesser duties of humanity. Every action of his life, be
spoke

spoke the benevolence of his mind. Poverty never came to his house unaided, virtue unhonoured, nor vice unreprieved.

The following anecdote will place, in a conspicuous point of view, the mild courage, the manly tenderness, and the dignified liberality that marked his character.

He was walking alone one day, across Kilburn-Fields, on his way from Kenton-Green to Hampstead, when he was stopped by a footpad, with a crape over his face. The manner in which the footpad accosted him, induced Boyd to suppose it his first offence; and instead of being disconcerted or alarmed at the pistol which he had presented at his breast, he harangued him in gentle but strong terms on the impropriety of his conduct, till the man, sensibly touched with his language, withdrew the pistol. Boyd then gave him his money, but endeavoured to dissuade the man from taking his watch, as it was a present from a particular friend, which would be of little value to him, and by which he would run the risque of being detected. The footpad, however, pleaded the extreme poverty of his family,

family, and Boyd at last gave him the watch, together with a solemn injunction regarding his future conduct.

On giving notice some days afterwards, at Fielding's office, he found the man was a new offender, as he had conjectured; notwithstanding which, he soon forgot the advice that he had given him, committed other robberies, and was at last taken up, tried, and condemned, as Mr. Boyd had foretold, by the evidence of the pawnbroker with whom he had pawned the watch.

The dread of approaching death at last softened the unhappy culprit into repentance and contrition, and called forcibly into his recollection Mr. Boyd's injunction, which he had disregarded; but having still some hopes in that tenderness which had been before expressed for him, he sent his wife to Mr. Boyd, who fell on her knees, begging him to save her husband, as he had been a man of good character, whom nothing but the miseries of his family could have tempted to go on the highway, and who sincerely intended, when he had procured a sum of money sufficient to relieve him from his misfortunes,

misfortunes, to return to his business of carpenter in Woolwich-yard, whither she referred Mr. Boyd for a character of her husband, and whither he immediately went. The character he got of the man was excellent; and he brought away a petition in his favour, signed by the curate, and some of the principal workmen in the yard. Two friends of Mr. Boyd's, Mr. GLENNY and Mr. JOHN BOWMAN, joined him in his exertions to save this unfortunate man, and were no less assiduous about the matter than himself. Boyd wrote to Sir John Day, who sent him a letter to Sir George Wombwell, from whom he procured an introductory letter to Lord Sandwich. He lost not a moment in calling on his Lordship; but finding he had gone to Woolwich, Boyd pursued him thither, was desired to call the next day in town, which he did, when his Lordship received him with great politeness, promised to intercede for the desired pardon, and accordingly obtained it. Boyd then, accompanied by his friend Mr. Glenny, visited the man in Newgate-cells, who manifested great sorrow for his crime, and

and abundant gratitude towards his benefactor. Boyd returned from the cell, deeply impressed with the horror of the scene he had witnessed.

The footpad, however, was pardoned, but not reclaimed. In the course of a few years, he betook himself to his former practices; was first condemned to the hulks for burglary, and *at last hanged* for having been concerned in robbing the dock-yard at Portsmouth;—affording a striking example of the inefficacy of clemency towards the prevention of crimes, in those who have once been initiated in the practices of vice, and of the difficulty of bringing back to the ways of honesty, he who has once been immured in the cells of Newgate.

Shortly after this event, an affair happened, which for a while greatly interested the publick mind, and which gave Mr. Boyd another opportunity of exercising his humanity.

In the month of June 1775, the famous trial of the two brothers ROBERT and DANIEL PERREAU, for forgery, commenced at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey.

Bailey. They were indicted for being concerned in forging several bonds and notes in the name of Mr. ADAIR, the agent. It were tedious to enter into the particulars of this curious case, which will be found very fully detailed in *Doddsley's Annual Register*, Vol. 20th. It is sufficient to state here, that Mrs. RUDD, the mistress of Daniel Perreau, a woman of exquisite charms, but of great art and wickedness, was, by her own confession, the person who forged the bonds; but the jury, being fully satisfied of the Perreaus being privy to the forgery, or that they at least had connived at it, brought in their verdict, "Guilty of publishing and uttering the bond, knowing it to be forged."—Though these unfortunate young men were found guilty, they were not mentioned in any report to his Majesty, till the month of December following, probably, because some doubts had arisen on the legality of trying Mrs. Rudd, who claimed the privilege of having become King's evidence, notwithstanding her not having been called upon at the trial. This question involved points of so much importance, that it was deemed

deemed requisite to take the opinion of the twelve Judges upon it, who after some deliberation determined, that Mrs. Rudd was not intitled to the advantages of King's evidence. She was accordingly tried, and for want of sufficient evidence, acquitted. Her trial lasted from nine in the morning till near eight in the evening: and when the jury brought in their verdict of *Not guilty*, the audience testified their approbation by the loudest applauses that were ever known in a court of justice; excited, I should imagine, rather from a sympathy with the sufferings of penitent beauty, than from a conviction of her innocence: for it is a fact, that many circumstances of unheard-of deception came to light, after her acquittal. These circumstances induced Mr. Boyd, as well as many others who had attended the trials, to believe the Perreaus were innocent; and their dignified firmness, and pious resignation, had so great an effect on Boyd, that he warmly interested himself in their favour.

A most moving petition was presented to her Majesty, in favour of Robert Perreau, by

by his wife and three children, in deep mourning, and another in his favour likewise by seventy-eight capital bankers and merchants of the city of London. Respecting these petitions, the Privy-Council were divided in opinion; and Lord Suffolk was said to be in favour of the petitioners. To that noble Lord, therefore, Mr. Boyd addressed several letters on this afflicting subject, which appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*, which are written with his usual force and elegance, and which were much noticed and admired at the time. Yet notwithstanding all that was urged in extenuation of the misconduct, if not in proof of the absolute innocence of the unhappy culprits, they were included in the next report to his Majesty, and ordered for execution on Wednesday the 27th of January 1776. They accordingly suffered death at Tyburn on that day with calm and manly fortitude, and after the most solemn affirmations contained in two papers, which each delivered to the Ordinary, that they were intirely innocent of the crime for which they died.

Mr.

Mr. Boyd's regret and disappointment at this melancholy catastrophe, seemed proportioned to the strenuous zeal with which he had endeavoured to avert it.

In the course of the year 1775, he had visited Cambridge, where he had an opportunity of enlarging his acquaintance with men of science and literature; and where he received from St. John's College the degree in A. M. *adeundem*, as being a Master of Arts of Trinity College, Dublin. He here became acquainted with the present Marquis of ABERCORN, with whom he afterwards lived on terms of great intimacy.

In January 1776, he was called to the bar, where, however, he never practised, as well for the causes which I have before explained, as on account of the many extrinsick difficulties which were thrown in his way. But politicks still continued to occupy a great part of his attention.

He went to Ireland in the spring of 1776, for the express purpose of attending the general election, as well as of giving his vote in the county of Antrim, to his friend

Mr.

Mr. Wilson, and of managing the canvass on his side. Previous to the election, he published the *Freeholder*, of which I have already given an account, and which had such an astonishing influence on the electors of Antrim, that he found little difficulty in carrying the cause of his friend, notwithstanding the *weighty* and *sterling* arguments of the opposite party.

Mr. Wilson and the present Lord Henry Seymour Conway, were chosen for the county, and Mr. Skeffington was thrown out. The contest was conducted with peculiar discretion: and it was remarked at the time, that it was the only county-election in that part of Ireland, which had ever been concluded without a duel; and which was attributed to the mild and polished manners of Lord H. S. (then Mr.) Conway, and of Mr. Boyd, who after opposing each other the whole day, with the utmost ardour and animation, would retire from the contest in perfect good fellowship.

On Mr. Boyd's return to London, he found parties in parliament running high,
and

and the politicians without doors in a ferment, respecting the memorable DECLARATION, by the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, wherein they assigned their reasons for withdrawing their allegiance to his Majesty. He lost no time in sending a few letters to the *Publick Advertiser*, on that important subject; which, however, he wrote with little care, owing to the multiplicity of private affairs in which he was then engaged. He also drew up a spirited manifesto in the name of GENERAL WASHINGTON, which was inserted in the *Publick Advertiser*, which attracted a vast deal of attention, and which was for some time believed to be genuine. Those who are conversant in the party politicks of that time, will remember this manifesto, as well as the credit, which, for a while, it obtained with the publick.

In the beginning of 1777, he gave up his country residence at Kenton-Green, and took a house in Norfolk-street in the Strand. And about this time, at the particular desire of

of his friends Mr. Lauchlin Maclean* and Mr. Stuart, he wrote one or two letters relative to the dispute between the East-India Company and Mahommed Allî Khaân, the Nabob of Arcot, which he sent to Mr. Woodfall, and which appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*. These letters are written in a plain easy style, setting forth in a perspicuous and forcible manner, the claims of his Highness the Nabob, but occasionally throwing sarcastick reflections on the conduct of some gentlemen then at Madras, who had borne a considerable share in the business alluded to, as well as of the odium which was attached to it. He likewise wrote a pamphlet†, explanatory of the conduct of the Nabob, both as it regarded the deposition of the Rajah of Tanjore, and the imprisonment of LORD PIGOT‡, Governor of

* Mr. Maclean was the Nabob's accredited agent in England.

† This pamphlet I have not yet been able to find : but Mr. Stuart informed me it was a very ingenious and masterly performance.

‡ On the 24th of August 1776, Lord Pigot was arrested, with circumstances of peculiar violence, by order of

of Madras; shewing his Highness's right of sovereignty over the former, whom he considered as his vassal, and exonerating him from the charge of having been concerned in the hostile proceedings of the Council at Madras against the latter.

Soon after this Mr. Maclean went to India, for the purpose of accommodating matters between the Company and the Nabob, and of bringing his Highness's debts into a train of liquidation. Before his departure, he made some arrangements with Boyd, in respect to the means of supporting the Nabob's cause in this country, and of keeping alive the publick interest concerning it: and he found himself under so many

Messrs. George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, and George Mackay, then members of the council at Madras, and confined under a military force in his *own government*, in which degrading situation he died, after a rigorous imprisonment of nine months, and a short time before the order of the Court of Directors for his release, arrived at the Presidency. *See the particulars of this extraordinary transaction, impartially, though not fully, and altogether accurately detailed, in Doddsley's Annual Register, Vol. 20, and an authentick Account of Lord Pigot's Death in Vol. 21, of the same Work.*

obligations

obligations to Boyd, that he faithfully promised him he would, upon his return from India, assist in clearing him from all his pecuniary difficulties. This promise did great honour to Maclean's heart, and I doubt not he would gladly have fulfilled it; but he never again saw him. The ship on which he had embarked at Madras for England, was never heard of, after she left the Cape of Good Hope, and must consequently have foundered at sea.

The attention which Boyd thus paid to Indian politicks, did not, however, occupy any great part of his time; for he neglected not his usual amusements.

As he now resided in town, he constantly frequented the chess club, and during this year associated very much with his old friends the Duke of Ancaster, the Earl of Ashburnham, and Count Bruhl.

At this period, too, he was more in the society of the Burkes, than he had heretofore been; as he not only was much at their own houses, but also met them at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, to whose literary parties he was often invited, and by whom, as I have be-

fore stated, he was greatly admired. At Sir Joshua's he once or twice met Johnson; and notwithstanding the Doctor's toryism, and his severe attack on *Junius*, no man held his genius and virtues in greater reverence than Boyd; which circumstance, in my mind, sufficiently accounts for the silence of *Junius*, respecting Johnson's animadversions on his writings.

Boyd's fine taste in Painting peculiarly recommended him to the notice of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who used to have frequent conversations with him on the subject, and who used to ask his opinion of the pieces on which his own masterly pencil was employed. And his discriminating judgment in this delightful art, the following anecdote will serve to shew.

He went once with a party to Audley-End, the seat of Sir John Griffin, to see a collection of very fine paintings, and particularly some figures of Venus, in different attitudes, by an eminent artist. On viewing the first, he observed, "that there was an extraordinary degree of animation in the countenance," adding, "that the Ve-

“nus’s of fancy generally wanted that quality.” On examining the other figures of the goddesses, he made the same remark; when the conductor told him with a smile,—“You are very right, Sir,—the dairy-maid, a beautiful young woman, fat for all those pictures.”—The Painter fell in love with *his Venus*, and carried her off with him.

Nor was Mr. Boyd’s taste in literary composition less exquisite, than in painting. At the memorable trial of the unhappy DODD, he was so much struck with the eloquence of his defence, and so much persuaded that it must have been written by Johnson, that when he returned home, he committed it to paper. A few days afterwards it was published, with a notification of its being the composition of Dr. Johnson; and when the original was compared with Boyd’s report, from memory, they were found to be *word for word the same*. A more convincing proof of an acute discernment, a refined taste, and a most tenacious memory, will not, I believe, be found in the whole range of biographical history.

He

He was extremely fond, as I have shewn, of being present at all interesting trials; but he never allowed that amusement to interfere with his attendance in the Houses of Parliament; for the love of politicks still swayed his mind.

On November the 20th, 1777, he attended the debate in the House of Lords, at the opening of the session; and when he went home, he wrote down Lord Chatham's celebrated speech on that occasion, together with the noble Earl's reply to Lord Suffolk, which, however, he did not publish till the year 1779.

He was also below the bar of the House of Lords, on that MEMORABLE DAY in 1778, when the wisest STATESMAN, and, perhaps, the most accomplished ORATOR, either of ancient or modern times, made his dying exertions, in support of the freedom, the honour, and the glory of his country, and whose voice was no more heard in the senate-house.—*Illud immortalitate dignum ingenium, illa humanitas, illa virtus Crassi morte extincta subita est, vix diebus decem post eum diem, qui hoc et superiore libro*

libro continetur. Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox, et oratio, quam quasi expectantes, post ejus interitum, veniebamus in curiam, ut vestigium illud ipsum, in quo ille postremum institisset, contueremur.*

When Lord Chatham fainted, the House was thrown into the utmost confusion. Assistance was called for from behind the bar, and Mr. Boyd immediately offered his services, which, however, were not afterwards required. The noble Earl was conveyed to his seat at Hayes in Kent, and expired on the 11th of May.

In 1779, Mr. Boyd published his *Genuine Abstracts* of the aforesaid Speeches of the Earl of Chatham, with a Preface and Notes. They were printed in the form of an *octavo* pamphlet, for J. Dodsley. Before the pamphlet was put to press, he apologized to his old acquaintance Mr. Almon, for not giving it to him;—saying, “that as he (Mr. Almon) had been personally known to Lord Chatham, the publication by him

* Cic. de Orat. lib. iii. f. 1.

might seem to insinuate it was with the concurrence of his Lordship's friends, which not being the fact, his delicacy would not permit to be inferred."

The same year he was recommended by Mr. Stuart and Mr. James Macpherson*, to the five deponents† of Lord Pigot, not only to plead their cause in Westminster-Hall, but also to write a pamphlet to endea-

* The Translator of the celebrated Poems of OSSIAN, and at this time agent to the NABOB of ARCOT.

† On the 16th of April 1779, Admiral Pigot, brother to the unfortunate nobleman in question, moved, in the House of Commons, an Address to his Majesty, praying "that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to his Attorney General to prosecute the five deponents of Lord Pigot," whose names have been already mentioned. Mr. Stratton, the principal person concerned in that affair, being a Member of the House, and present in his place on the occasion, entered into a long vindication of his own, and of his colleague's conduct, which, however, did not satisfy the House, and the Admiral's motion was carried without a division. Mr. Stratton and his friends were accordingly prosecuted. The trial came on in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Mansfield, on the 20th of December 1779, at nine in the morning, and lasted till seven the next morning, when the jury returned their verdict GUILTY. They were, however, sentenced only to pay a trifling fine.

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your to efface the odium which had been thrown upon their characters. But Mr. DUNNING, being their leading Counsel, they thought it unnecessary to employ any one else: and owing to a particular circumstance, which it is not material to relate, Boyd declined writing the pamphlet.

But he had now a prospect of procuring a situation, which would have opened the road to his ambition, and for which his great abilities were peculiarly well suited. Governor Patterson and Mr. Flood used their utmost interest to get him appointed under-secretary of state, in Lord George Germaine's department; and for that purpose, he was recommended in the strongest terms to his Lordship, by a friend who had great influence with him. Nevertheless, all the efforts that were made in his favour, proved unsuccessful, owing to some *hidden cause* *, of which, as I know not the exact truth, I shall not attempt to develop. The failure of this business

* This cause, I strongly suspect, will be explained, when Mr. Chalmers publishes his *documents*, in proof of Mr. Boyd having written the letters of *Junius*.

gave infinitely more concern to his friends, than to himself; for as his political sentiments differed widely from those of the administration, it was with the greatest difficulty Mr. Flood persuaded him to agree to the application being made; but the deplorable condition of his affairs, and the hopes of serving his family, at last induced him to yield to his friends intreaties.

After this affair dropped, he sent several letters to the *Publick Advertiser* signed *Democraticus*, some of which I have inserted in this collection of his writings, and have already spoken of much at large.

In the winter of 1779, and the spring of 1780, he wrote the letters of the *Whig*, which he addressed to the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, and which, as has been stated, appeared in Mr. Almon's morning paper, intitled, the *London Courant*. These were his last political productions which merit any attention; but he afterwards published, in the same paper, a few letters signed *Kitty Backpinch*, in ridicule of the Scotch, which, although they would be uninteresting now, furnished a vast deal of amusement at the time.

Having,

Having, by some accident, snapt the *musculus plantaris* of his leg, he was desired by his friend JOHN HUNTER, to recline daily on a sofa; and although he was in extreme pain, it was in this situation that he wrote those humorous letters. After his recovery, he dined at Mr. Lee's, where there was a host of Scotchmen at table. The conversation turned upon *Kitty Backpinch's* epistles, which occasioned much laughing and many pleasantries. Several conjectures were made about the author, but the suspicion never fell upon Boyd, who professed himself equally anxious with the rest of the company to discover the wicked wit that had taken so many liberties with his *friends*.

He still continued to be a constant attendant in the houses of parliament. In the gallery of the House of Commons he often sat near Mr. PITT, the present CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, before that Right Hon. gentleman became a member of the house. They at last got well acquainted; and once, after a long debate on the affairs of Ireland, they retired together to a late dinner, and over their wine jointly committed

committed to paper the substance of the debate, and transmitted it to Ireland. When the bill was called for, Boyd chanced not to have cash enough about him to pay his share, and Mr. Pitt lent him a few shillings to make up the deficiency.

Of these favourite amusements, however, he was now obliged to take leave. The exigencies of his situation engrossed all his attention; and the experience of the inconveniencies he suffered from them, determined him to attach himself to some fixed pursuit, whereby he might be enabled to repair his fortune. With this view he got his intimate friend Mr. Lawrence Sullivan to recommend him to Lord Macartney; and on his Lordship's nomination to the government of Madras, he appointed him his second secretary.

With this appointment, he left England, (though with much reluctance) embarked for India with Lord Macartney's suite, and arrived at Madras in the autumn of the year 1781.

After his arrival at that settlement, he devoted his leisure hours very sedulously to the

the study of eastern politicks, in which he was not long in attaining considerable knowledge.

An opportunity soon occurred to call that knowledge into action. A powerful confederacy was at this time formed against the British possessions in India, which aimed at nothing less than their total destruction, and which the active genius of a HASTINGS, and the dauntless heroism of a COOTE, perhaps could have alone subdued.

Thus situated, a plan was proposed, and speedily adopted, by the government of Madras, of forming an alliance with a people, with whose manners and country we were very slightly acquainted; but from whom much assistance might be derived, in reducing the power of a great commercial rival, with whom we were then at war.

The Dutch had long remained in undisturbed possession of the trade of the island of Ceylon; but the time was now arrived when they had to encounter in an enemy an intelligent and adventurous rival, and when all that energy was required to be called forth,

forth, which in their better days repelled the arms of Spanish tyranny.

After the reduction of Negapatam, and the fall of the other Dutch settlements on the Coast of Coromandel, an expedition was planned and executed against *Trincomallée*, in Ceylon, under the direction of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes.

Mr. Boyd accompanied this expedition, being deputed, by the Governor in Council of Madras, on a special mission to the King of Candy. He embarked on board the Admiral's ship, the *Superb*, and was on shore at the storming of *Trincomallée*, a few days subsequent to which he set out on his embassy to Candy.

A particular account of this mission will be found in Mr. Boyd's Journal *, which is

now

* This Journal was written by Mr. Boyd, during his embassy, and the copy of it which is now published, together with the letters contained in the Appendix to the Embassy, were transmitted by him to Mrs. Boyd, when he was a prisoner in the isle of Bourbon, and have by her been carefully preserved since that time. The account I gave of this Embassy in a former edition of Mr. Boyd's Life, is in some parts inaccurate, owing to my not having

when

now printed for the first time, and inserted in the second volume of these works, together with a Preface, that comprises an historical account of Ceylon, and that points out the importance of Mr. Boyd's embassy, as well as the ability with which it was conducted.

The object of this embassy was to conclude a treaty of alliance between the Government of Madras and the King of Candy, by which the latter was to be required, not only to supply the British troops in Ceylon, with the essential article of provisions, but also to send a powerful army to co-operate with the English in the reduction of *Columbo*. The King of Candy, after much persuasion, agreed to supply the English with provi-

when I wrote that account, any other information concerning it, than what I had collected from some casual conversations with Mr. Boyd on the subject. One or two of those inaccuracies it may be necessary to point out. It is stated, that Mr. Boyd had only an escort of an havildar and twelve sepoys, and that he was only twelve days on his journey from *Trincomallée* to *Candy*; whereas it appears from his own account, that he had a whole company of sepoys, commanded by a British officer, and that he was exactly one month between *Trincomallée* and *Candy*.

sions,

sions, but he positively refused to take any part in the war against the Dutch, or to conclude a treaty of alliance, except with an ambassador commissioned by the King of England himself. It was in vain that Mr. Boyd represented to his Highness, that the Governor of Madras was the representative of the King of England, in India, that he consequently had full powers to negotiate with foreign states, and that he had in fact concluded treaties with many other princes in Hindustân. The Candian monarch remained inflexible, and Mr. Boyd was at last obliged to depart from his court, without having obtained the most material purpose of his mission.

On his return to *Trincomallée*, he hired a small vessel to carry him to Madras, with all possible expedition; the frigate that had been appointed by the Admiral to carry him thither, having put to sea. This proved an unlucky circumstance to Mr. Boyd; for the day after his departure from *Trincomallée*, he fell in with the French fleet, commanded by Mons. de Suffrein, was made prisoner, and sent on board *La Fine* frigate. The Captain

of this ship was a polite companionable man, and shewed him great respect and kindness. Such manners, under misfortune, are peculiarly conciliating.

The morning after his capture, the lively Frenchman told him, with a smile, that the English fleet was in sight, and that their situations might probably be soon reversed. "*Les armes sont journalieres*," said he, with much vivacity, and giving him his hand, — "*a quelque chose malheur est bon mon ami!*"—but fortune was unkind to his prisoner.

The fleets engaged, and the action, as is well known, lasted till night. La Fine, by some mismanagement, got into the English line, and fell so close on board the Isis, a fifty gun ship, that the French commander thought it folly to attempt getting off, and hailed that he had struck; upon which several English prisoners went on board the Isis, but Mr. Boyd, being rather indisposed, declined quitting the Frenchman till the morning; in the mean time, however, a fresh breeze sprung up, and before the Isis, in her disabled condition, could take possession of

her prize, the frigate took the advantage, and got clear off. Mr. Boyd remonstrated against this proceeding of the French captain's in terms so pointed and strong, that he was ordered into close confinement. The next day, the French captain released him, apologized for the manner in which he had treated him, and endeavoured to extenuate the impropriety of his conduct towards the *Isis*.

When *La Fine* arrived at the island of *Mauritius*, Mr. Boyd was made a close prisoner, and was kept there several months. He was afterwards sent to the isle of *Bourbon*, (for what reason he never could learn) where he lived at the Governor's table, and was treated with the utmost kindness and liberality.

Captivated with that generosity and politeness for which the people of this island are peculiarly distinguished, he felt not the inconveniences, much less the hardships, of imprisonment. Such societies he was born to animate, felicitate, and delight: in them he gave grace to learning, cheerfulness to wisdom, and elegance to wit.

But

But the liberality of the Governor put a period to the pleasures which he enjoyed in this beautiful island: he offered Mr. Boyd his parole, which respect for his situation obliged him, however reluctantly, to accept.

On his return to Madras, he solicited Lord Macartney for an appointment, by which he could advance his fortune; but his Lordship having none at his immediate disposal, Mr. Boyd went for a few months to Calcutta, where he lived on terms of intimacy with Sir JOHN MACPHERSON, then Governor of Bengal, and where his talents, wit, and humour, together with the superlative sprightliness of his convivial qualities, will be long remembered with pleasure.

His stay at Calcutta was shorter than he intended. Being appointed master-attendant at Madras, he was recalled to that presidency. The duties of this situation were ill suited to the delicacy of his mind; but as the emoluments appertaining to it were so great as to open to him the prospect of ultimate wealth, he cheerfully overlooked every lesser consideration. Nor was this

p 2

prospect

prospect so distant, or the avenue that led to it so disagreeable as may be supposed; though Prudence, unquestionably, was the only guide that could conduct him through it: but, alas! with her he was ever at variance, for he associated too constantly with Sensibility, to relish much the cold counsels of Prudence; yet is it to be lamented, that Prudence did not find an early entrance into his breast, that with her protecting shield, she might have covered, from the rude ravages of precarious fortune, the fine polish of virtuous sensibility.

He now lived in his usual style, the ornament of general society, and the life of every company.

During the Myfore war, which terminated in 1792, he conducted a paper, intitled, the *Madras Courier*: it was very justly admired for precision in detail, and taste and judgment in selection.

In June 1793, he first conceived the idea of publishing periodical essays on morals and literature. At this time I accidentally became acquainted with him. "I was then
"only not a boy;" and the manly dignity
of

of his countenance, the fascinating courtesy of his address, the rich eloquence of his language, the variety of his knowledge, and the facility with which he communicated information, at once commanded my respect and admiration. We often met, and our conversations chiefly took a literary turn. He listened to my opinions, however much they differed from his own, with the kindest condescension, and answered them with a frankness that bespoke the generosity of his mind. A gradual increase of mutual fondness, soon grew into friendship;—a friendship not to be impaired by place, fortune, or calamity, nor ever effaced from my mind.

“ If e’er from me thy loved memorial part,

“ May shame afflict my alienated heart.

“ Oh, if sometimes thy spotless form descend,

“ To me, thy aid, thou guardian Genius, lend!

“ When rage misguides me, or when fear alarms,

“ When pain distresses, or when pleasure charms,

“ In silent whisp’rings purer thoughts impart,

“ And turn from ill a frail and feeble heart;

“ Lead through the paths, thy virtue trod before,

“ Till bliss shall join, nor death can part us more.”

I was now his inmate, and seldom or ever absent from his company. His acquaintance

ance formed the whole society of Madras, and to that little circle he gave peculiar grace. Every man of judgment admired, and every man of sensibility loved him. If there were those that snarled at his irregularities, they were at least soothed by his gentleness; and if at times they had the boldness to bite, they had not often the resolution to continue the conflict: for churlish censure is always impotent when opposed to humour and mildness.

His plan for the "*Indian Observer*," was made known to the publick some time in August 1793, and soon obtained a very liberal encouragement. The novelty of the attempt in that country, excited universal curiosity, which it was known the great talents of the Conductor were well qualified to gratify. In the course of a month, the subscription amounted to four hundred names.

The work was now to commence; but Mr. Boyd very properly judging it would give greater satisfaction by appearing through the channel of a weekly paper, in which the politician and merchant, if they relished

relished not the literary treat, might resort to more homely repasts, proposed this mode to his friends, by whom it was highly approved.

This paper he intitled the *Hircarrah* *, the first number of which appeared on the 9th of September 1793, and which, before the publication of the second, procured nearly one hundred additional subscribers. The *Observer* was now in high repute, and the Bœviad race of India, (for there are those songsters there as well as in other countries) were all on wing—straining their lungs to heave the cumbrous load!

*Scribimus inclusi, numeros ille, hic pede liber,
Grande aliquid quod pulmo animæ prælargus anhelet †.*

The *Observer* with consistent dignity steadily advanced in his pursuit, gratified by the voice of publick approbation, and undisturbed by those literary reptiles whom the rays of his genius had called forth into a momentary existence.

In February 1794, Mr. Boyd advertised proposals for publishing by subscription his

* An Hircarrah signifies a messenger.

† Perf. Sat. I.

Embassy

Embassy to Candy, with particulars of that country, and of the islands of *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*, in two volumes 8vo. The subscription did not increase so rapidly as might have been expected. It was certainly a work from which the world would have derived much entertainment and information. The tardiness of the publick damped the ardour with which he had embraced the project; and he delayed taking up his pen till a sufficient sum was subscribed to bear the charges of the press. But in September following, urged by some friends, he resolved to begin, and partly on that account closed the *Observer*, with a postscript, in which there is a conditional promise to renew the essays at a future period, and to print, in a collective form, those that had appeared.

He now undertook the work with zeal, and confidently hoped to finish it within six months; but this hope was never realized, he was seized with a fever which carried him to his grave.

The thread of this narrative has now brought me to an awful, afflicting, and interesting scene, of which, though I was myself

self a melancholy spectator, I would much rather decline the description; but reverence for truth, and justice to the memory of my departed friend, oblige me to disclose it.

That prodigality of all worldly benefits, and perpetual carelessness of pecuniary considerations, which misguided the early years of Mr. Boyd, attended him to that bed of sickness, on which, whatever were his crimes, or whatever his failings, he was to make a final expiation. Though imprudence must be acknowledged to be a great defect, yet that mind can boast of little liberality, which magnifies it to a crime: most men, nevertheless, by judging of characters from appearances in common life, and by being unacquainted with the latent springs of human action, are apt indiscriminately to consider continued imprudence in the light of fraud.

Mr. Boyd, who had attentively studied the great volume of life, must have known the truth of this observation; but perhaps he never experienced it until the approach of his dissolution.

Blessed

Blessed with a vigorous constitution and an even flow of spirits, he passed through a chequered and bustling life without having, till now, been confined with any serious illness. The fever therefore, which, from its beginning, preyed upon his vitals, he felt with an anguish, imbittered by reflection on the embarrassment of his affairs, and exasperated by the calls of disappointed creditors. Yet his mind, superior to misfortune, disdained the language of sorrow; and his heart, warmed by the recollection of benevolent actions, solaced itself in the exercise of religious duties.

Some days previous to his death, during a paroxysm of his fever, I was called to take my last farewell,—to tear myself from that bosom in which my affections had so long reposed! My friend was extended on his bed, his once expressive visage pale and emaciated, his eyes hollow and languid, and his voice feeble and low. He stretched out his hand to receive me, and only whispered he was ill;—but the big tear that rolled down his still animated countenance, was more intelligible

intelligible than all the figures of language.

This is a scene in which friendship discovers every secret goodness, and at the same time finds palliations for every fault; in which power loses all its influence, and rivalry all its envy; in which dissipation and folly tremble, and vice and impiety stand appalled. "Whoever would know how much piety and virtue surpasses all external good, might here have seen them weighed against each other; where all that gives motion to the active, and elevation to the eminent; all that sparkles in the eye of hope, or pants in the bosom of suspicion, at once became dust in the balance, without weight and without regard." But it did not fall to my lot to attend him in his last hour. His life was prolonged for a few days more, and he expired in the arms of a virtuous and enlightened friend, whom he had always regarded with tenderness, and whose abilities he had always admired. With this friend I was sitting in the sick room, (the last time I ever sat in it) when suddenly raising himself in his bed, he called

us near him, and with a tremulous voice, though with a composure and clearness, freedom attainable in such situations, spoke the following lines :

In life's gay flow, when all obey
The sprightly notes of Pleasure's call ;
Can then the faithful mirror say,
I shew a just original ?

In scenes of pow'r, of pomp, and place,
Where proud Ambition's vot'ries bow ;
Can there the mirror's shining face,
Of life a true resemblance shew ?

No! 'tis not where Ambition's hand
Sweeps o'er the polish roughly warm ;
Nor where keen Pleasure's sighs demand
Her flatt'ring images to form.

'Tis there, where with Reflection's aid,
And purified by Pain,
Man contemplates his sickly bed,—
The mirror then shines plain!

He would have proceeded, but his feelings were unable to bear those reflections which he had already conjured up. He burst into a flood of tears, and reclined again on his pillow.

As his fate approached, he told the friend to whom I have above alluded, that some friends had abandoned him:—yet, though he felt this defection with the keenest regret, no expression of resentment, no emotion of anger, not even a look of unkindness, sullied the purity of his dying sentiments; but in forgiving his enemies, and in offering up his prayers to the Almighty, for his kindred, his friends, his country, and all mankind, with intire resignation, and the most perfect calmness, he breathed his last!—Thus ended the life of this great and extraordinary man, at once remarkable for the most brilliant talents, and the most exalted virtues,—for the misfortunes which obscured the one, and for the follies which surrounded the other.

His death happened on the 19th of October 1794, in the FORTY-EIGHTH year of his age; and he was interred, the day following, in the New Burying Ground at Madras.

Among the number who mourn the loss of Mr. Boyd, are his widow, a son and daughter, who by all accounts shew that the genius

genius of their father survives; his brother, Alexander Macaulay, Esq. who lives on the family estate in the county of Antrim, and who is married to a sister of the present Lord Viscount Gosford; and his sister, Mrs. Godley, a lady of great accomplishments, and many virtues.

The person of Mr. Boyd was tall and graceful, formed with the most exact symmetry; his mien noble and elevated; his countenance animated and commanding, and his deportment exceedingly elegant.

He possessed great strength and agility of body, and was particularly fond of all athletic exercises, in many of which he excelled.

In the hours of mirth and conviviality he was too desirous of displaying his superiority in trifles; and used at times to relax his dignity, and shew his skill at a trick. But in those practices he was guided much by his company; for it was one of his maxims,

“that a man should always endeavour to
“adapt his conversation and manners to
“the prevailing taste of his company, pro-
“vided the doing so did not violate the rules
“of morality or decorum.”

In social life he possessed, in an eminent degree, those qualities which give confidence to fellowship, and zeal to benevolence; which give incitement to charity, and activity to friendship. His manners were so captivating, that they at once interested every affection of the heart. His pleasantry and humour extorted smiles from the inflexible misanthrope, and infused cheerfulness into the breasts of the disconsolate. The persuasive mildness of his language conciliated the boisterous, and subdued the rude. But in the practice of these virtues he was not unaccompanied by the neighbouring passions. Regular men were displeased with his deviation from order, and prudent men were offended with his total neglect of economy. His boundless profusion was generally condemned, and his munificence often got the name of injustice.

Yet

Yet if his generosity gave that in charity, which justice demanded as a right, the undeserving, at least, never shared in the donation: for wisdom, which seemed to have forsaken him in the common affairs of life, directed his mind in its more exalted operations, and always guided him in his charitable distributions. Though from distress, in whatever form it appeared, he never could withhold immediate relief, yet to vice or idleness he never deliberately gave encouragement. Under his roof, where every man who wanted a home, found a ready admittance, hospitality was by consequence sometimes misapplied; which although his penetration soon perceived, his excessive delicacy and politeness would not allow him to remedy. Let not, therefore, those immense sums of money which he lavished away, be intirely placed to the account of his own extravagance; for they were at times augmented by the folly or fordidness of others, and, in a few instances, by those vultures of office, who prey on the unsuspecting candour and generosity of their master's disposition.

In

In his friendly attachments he was less frequently mistaken; for he founded them on the broad basis of disinterested principle. Difference of sentiment, distrust, and jealousy, the most formidable enemies to friendship, found no place in his breast: there, all was equable, smooth, and gentle.

The warmth of affection which he bore his friends, seemed at times to border on prejudice; and he was too apt to hide their blemishes, by magnifying their perfections: yet, if his applauses were sometimes unqualified, his censures were always sparing. Of him it may be said, in the words of that great statesman and orator, whose eloquence and patriotism have been so long the pride of his country, and the admiration of Europe,—“that his enmities were placable—his friendships eternal *.”

In private company Mr. Boyd never indulged in personal ridicule. Scandal he despised with becoming dignity: he always endeavoured to stifle every petty whisper of malevolence; and in his conversation he

* “*Amicitia sempiternæ, inimiciæ placabiles.*”

was so particularly cautious and correct, that I do not remember ever to have heard him insinuate, much less openly express, any thing injurious to a private character.

Entering early into life with a mind diffusive and powerful, and a judgment penetrating, definite, and clear, he attained a very extensive and accurate knowledge of mankind; which important advantage, aided by a vivid imagination, embellished with all the graces of learning, gave him a pre-eminence in familiar conversation, that cannot easily be equalled, and has been seldom surpassed.

He could accommodate himself to every company and to every mind, and possessed the rare quality of diffusing pleasure wherever he appeared. In mixt society, the quickness of his apprehension allowed nothing to escape his notice: his mind was always present, and his whole powers ready at every call. He could vary his subjects with the utmost promptitude, and examine each with equal precision;—with the serious he could be moral; with the studious he could be learned; with the polite he could be

be elegant ; with the gay he could be witty ; with the frolicksome he could be humorous ; and with the unlettered he could be plain.

At his convivial board his wit sparkled with every glass, and his jocularly flowed as plentifully as his wine ; but it was the charms of the one, rather than the excellence of the other, that allured his guests, and detained them till a late hour ; for even his meals were a feast for the understanding*.

On these occasions, he, at times, became a keen polemick, and engaged warmly in literary and political disputes : but his argumentative powers were not commensurate with his other qualifications. His imagination was greater than his judgment ; and his reasoning, therefore, though dextrous and specious, had little solidity or depth. His hearers, however, were always delighted, if not always convinced.

In the warmth of disputation, he occasionally shewed some slight degree of arro-

* Ut voluptates quoque studiis condiantur. PLINY.

gance. To maintain a favourite position, he would pour forth a torrent of learning, and dare the confutation of his antagonist; and in scrutinizing publick characters he was, perhaps, too much influenced by his feelings. Yet in the heat of discussion, he was always agreeable: he never soiled his lips with the breath of animosity, far less with the meanness of personal allusion. The suavity of his manners he preserved inviolate. In his conversation, there was no violence, no harshness, no asperity; nothing loud, nor coarse, nor rude; all was mild, and easy, and elegant.

When argument at any time ran high, or tended to produce any serious discord, he would ingeniously change the conversation by a humorous sally; and if any angry disputant should not yet be disposed to yield, he would with admirable quickness turn his syllogisms into an epigram, and tell him with an irresistible pleasantry, "Now, my friend, do indulge us with an armistice." In turning those epigrams he was often particularly happy; and although he was too fond of interlarding them with puns, which, like

other

other puns, were frequently insipid, yet they seldom failed to excite applause, and promote cheerfulness.

In female society, he preserved his merriment with delicacy, and his wit with gracefulness, without losing its point. Of the *Belle Assemblée*, he was an ardent admirer, and he joined the sprightly circle with frequent delight: but the licentiousness of the drawing-room he unreservedly condemned. That restless propensity to game—that *Cacoëthes aleatorium*, which renders morbid every generous principle in youth, and pollutes the hoary honours of age; which disgraces the fairest forms, and corrupts the purest hearts,—found an enemy in Boyd, who, though goaded by a wild extravagance, had never been driven into its snares. He admonished its deluded votaries, not less by precept*, than example.

Of his intellectual elements, his imagination was the most powerful and active. His

* Whoever wishes to know his detestation of this vice, will find the subject treated in a very masterly and elegant manner, in the ninth number of the *Indian Observer*, Vol. II. page 152, of these works.

genius bold, aspiring, and adventurous, formed conceptions beyond the bounds of sublunary nature; and his judgment was only not vigorous, when it endeavoured to restrain his fancy. His mind in all its operations was assisted by a curiosity perpetually awake, and a comprehensive capacity of observation;—by an intuitive perception, a tenacious memory, and an understanding that could associate the remote and the familiar—the beautiful and the grand.

But the distinguishing qualities of his mind, were memory, clearness, and perspicacity. What he had once heard, or read, he never forgot. He could repeat all the passages that he most admired, and these were of course very numerous, in the writings of Demosthenes and Cicero, of Thucydides and Tacitus, of Bacon, Machiavel, and Montesquieu. In poetry, his favourite authors were Homer and Milton, and he could repeat several books of the *Iliad*, and of *Paradise Lost*, from the beginning to the end. The speeches that he had heard in parliament, or in the courts of law, he always remembered, not only in substance

but

but in the very form and phrase in which they were spoken. And even in familiar conversation, whatever interested his mind, never again escaped it.

The strength of his memory, and the clearness of his understanding were such, that he could make arithmetical calculations of considerable length and intricacy intirely in his mind: without taking down a single unit, he could in a short space of time multiply nine given figures, by other nine, and give the product; and in the same manner he could, in the course of an hour, resolve any question in the *Rule of Three*, or in *Vulgar Fractions*. In playing at his favourite game of chess, he would walk about the room, and while he was conversing with seeming attention on other subjects, dictate the moves to another person, from being told the situation of his adversary's pieces, and the moves he had made, without once looking at the board himself.

Yet, notwithstanding these uncommon instances of a piercing and vigorous intellect, notwithstanding the logical precision and arrangement of his thoughts, he possessed

possessed not that strong reflecting faculty by which the human mind is enabled to investigate the whole process of its own operations, to follow up the chain of abstract reasoning, and to explore the sources of metaphysical truths. But his mind had an extensive grasp. He contemplated the universe with the poetick eye of philosophy, and embraced at once all the various organizations, not only of the moral, but the material world.

His learning, like his genius, was more splendid than profound. He feasted on all the fruits, but had not thoroughly cultivated the soil of the literary garden. He had made a general survey of every region of human knowledge; but his particular researches were confined to classical learning, morals, and politicks.

With the belles lettres, and with the literary and civil histories of every age and nation, he was familiarly acquainted. He read the classics, both of ancient and modern Europe, in their original dress. In the Latin and French languages he was eminently skilful; and his knowledge of Greek

was

was so considerable, that one would have imagined he had been all his life a re-
cluse scholar, rather than a man of the
world.

Endowed with a taste, by nature most
exquisitely delicate, and refined by the ele-
gancies of the Attick school, he was nice in
polite criticism, without being fastidious,
and severe in philology, without being pe-
dantick.

Of the stage he was an enthusiastick ad-
mirer, and on dramattick poetry, as well as
on dramattick representations, a critick of
great acumen, judgment, and taste. On
this subject, his opinions were not formed
from the polished models of the Grecian,
still less from the forced correctness of the
Parisian stage; they were drawn from the
originals of nature, as represented in the
diversified scenery of the immortal genius
of Britain.

To talents so polished, wit so refined,
learning so amplified, and taste so chastened,
had Mr. Boyd applied himself to the cul-
tivation of dramattick poetry, he would,
doubtless, have added ornaments to the
English

English stage, which, with its declining elegance and morality, could have alone decayed.

HAVING already said so much respecting Mr. Boyd's political writings, I should not now offer another word on the subject of them, but that I conceive it necessary to expose the absurdity, if not the malignity, of Mr. Chalmers's attempt, to calumniate the memory of my friend.

Mr. Chalmers has told the publick, "that Mr. Boyd was an UNITED IRISH-MAN, *by birth, by habit, and by practice.*" To have established the truth of this assertion, it was in the first place requisite for him to prove, that a Republican CONSPIRACY *actually existed* in IRELAND *at the time of Mr. Boyd's birth*, that is, in October 1746; and in the next place, it was essential to shew, that Mr. Boyd's political principles, opinions, and connexions, were the same as those of an *United Irishman*. Now, with regard to a *republican* conspiracy in Ireland,

in

in the year 1746, I believe it never did exist, except in the imagination of Mr. Chalmers; for it is an undeniable fact, that no mention is made by any cotemporary writer, of any such conspiracy. And as to the idea of tracing the origin of the recent rebellion in Ireland, to some petty Catholick plot that may have happened fifty years ago, it is too ridiculous to merit a single observation.

With regard to Mr. Boyd's political connexions, the reader already knows, that they were of the first respectability in the kingdom, not only for their rank and talents, but for their steady loyalty to his Majesty's family, and their consequent attachment to the genuine principles of the British constitution. These principles are steadfastly maintained throughout the whole of Mr. Boyd's writings, and though there are a few insulated expressions in *Junius*, which may be thought seditious, and which, therefore, I am very far from defending, I do believe that *Junius* was a much sincerer, and surely he was a more able friend to the Crown of England, than *Mr. George Chalmers!!* He who truly loves his KING, must

must first love his COUNTRY. No man can really regard the rights of the one, who does not cherish the liberties of the other.

But Mr. Boyd, so far from having acted upon the principles of an *United Irishman*, was in fact a professed enemy to a republican form of government. Let him speak for himself—"I can more readily admire," says *Junius*, "the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, in this, or in any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy, so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country. Yet, though I hope that the English constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchical form, I would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican. I do not mean the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot. I mean a general attachment to the common weal, distinct from any partial attachment to persons or families; an implicit submission

" to

"to the laws only; and an affection to the
 "magistrate, proportioned to the integrity
 "and wisdom with which he distributes justice
 "to his people, and administers their af-
 "fairs."

This I know Mr. Chalmers will not admit to be sound constitutional doctrine, but this I know was the good old-fashioned doctrine of our ancestors, and that to which England owes all her prosperity and glory—all her power and greatness. This too was the rational doctrine which Mr. Boyd taught to the people of Ireland, and not, as Mr. Chalmers maliciously and unjustly insinuates, those wild and dangerous chimeras by which they have been lately deluded. "RATIONAL, — LEGAL LIBERTY," says Mr. Boyd, in the *Freeholder*, "and ONLY THAT, is intended to be praised; which differs as essentially from the rude riot of licentiousness, as wisdom is distinct from madness, or as reason excels brutality. The admirable Milton has well distinguished, where he inveighs against the hypocrites of this virtue in the extreme. As the passage well exposes the false pretensions

“ tensions to it, and in the same proportion
“ extols the truth, permit me to close these
“ observations with it.”

“ They bawl for FREEDOM in their senseless mood,
“ Yet quarrel with the hand that makes them free,
“ Licence they mean, when they cry LIBERTY;
“ FOR WHO LOVES THAT, MUST FIRST BE WISE AND
“ GOOD.”

In another place he declares—“ I do not
“ *beat the drum of faction, nor sound the*
“ *trumpet of sedition:* for I do most *positively*
“ *and solemnly protest myself a zealous friend*
“ to the CONSTITUTION AS ESTABLISHED
“ IN CHURCH AND STATE.”

Such is the language in which Mr. *Chalmers's United Irishman* addresses the people of Ireland, and such the principles which he inculcated: and if the reader should require an exposition of these principles, I recommend to him to peruse with attention the second letter of the *Freeholder*, in which he will find an abstract of the British constitution, not adapted, perhaps, to Mr. Chalmers's political taste, but strictly conformable to the theory of our government.

Respect-

Respecting the REVOLUTION in FRANCE, Mr. Boyd saw, at its very commencement, the false and destructive principles of those extravagant speculations by which it was effected, and which presumptuously talked of disorganizing and new modelling the whole frame of civil society: and he thought them altogether so inconsistent with any system of rational and practicable freedom in any country, that an attempt to realize them in France, would madden the deluded people, produce the most ferocious anarchy, and instead of establishing a free government, would erect a military despotism. He also thought, that the French possessed not that steadiness and sobriety of character, by which liberty can alone be preserved. In the year 1791, he received a letter on this important subject from his friend Mr. Edmund Burke, together with a copy of his celebrated REFLECTIONS, the perusal of which, of course, confirmed Mr. Boyd's opinions: and of those opinions he has fortunately left a sufficient record.

In the 21st No. of the *Indian Observer*, which was published in January 1794, after making

making some observations on the powerful effects of eloquence in the free states of antiquity, he says,—“From these premises, “the modern eye naturally turns to that “unhappy country, which for four fatal “years has been the theatre of national calamity. And he who traces the progress “of that calamitous drama, from the first “act of deposition of royalty in the national “senate, to the murderous catastrophe on “the national scaffold, will see how the “abuse of popular eloquence prevailed to “madden the multitude; and if not intended to effect the final mischief, as lately has “been suggested in some posthumous proofs, “yet how fatally powerful it was to light a “flame which could not be extinguished. “The extraordinary talents of Mirabeau, “and their omnipotent effect in the Assembly of France, are too well known. And “though it may be some consolation to “those, whose love of human nature revolts “from the unnatural association of the “blackest vices with the brightest abilities, “to find that his were not the principles “which

“ which have been since acted upon to the
“ horror of mankind.

“ But to turn to the more pleasing view
“ of the subject, where the finest talents
“ combat on the side of truth, we have seen
“ their triumph in the noblest cause, in the
“ CAUSE OF RELIGION, LAW, AND OR-
“ DER; in defence of every sacred post and
“ barrier, ESSENTIAL, not alone to the SE-
“ CURITY and HAPPINESS OF MANKIND,
“ but to the very EXISTENCE OF SOCIETY.
“ The sublime comprehension of that pene-
“ trating genius*, who in the early dawn
“ of democracy, saw the destructive princi-
“ ple of general conflagration that was to
“ flame in its meridian, gave the alarm to
“ the world; and his warning voice was
“ heard. The baleful influence, threatening
“ every confine of humanity, was averted;
“ and the portentous meteor, consumed in
“ its own fires, will pass away for ever.”

Thus then it appears that the assertion of
Mr. Chalmers is at once groundless and
absurd; and he has, therefore, thought

* Mr. Burke.

it becoming his character to propagate an idle calumny, to endeavour to revile the memory of one who never injured him, to violate the sanctity of the tomb, and to rake up the ashes of the dead, to gratify his resentment against the living. What morality is this? Is this the man who censures the morals of *Junius*? Is this the man who complains so bitterly of the malevolence of Mr. MATHIAS? Is this the man who is constantly professing his regard for candour and truth? Is this the man who takes Doctor Johnson for his model? Or is it *only the style* * of that great man, which he thinks worthy of imitation?

But with his taste in morals, or in literature, I have no other concern, than as it regards my friend. Dulness may be despised, though malignity cannot be excused; but when we find them united, disgust and indignation rush irresistibly on the mind. If, however, I had not judged of his calumny

* See Chalmers's Life of Rudiman, a work, which, to any man well acquainted with Johnson's style, will afford as much amusement as one of Foote's best farces.

by the rancour which gave it birth, rather than by the manner in which it is expressed, I should have allowed it to die forgotten and unremoved, along with the learned lumber of his *Supplemental Apology*.

The other productions of Mr. Boyd, which I have presented to the publick, require little apology or explanation; they are written with less ardour of style and sentiment, than his political compositions, but they are nevertheless highly worthy of preservation, and no way derogatory from his genius.

The Journal of his Embassy to Candy will be found extremely entertaining. It is written with that unaffected *naïveté* of language, which is the greatest beauty of such a performance; and there is an agreeable and unclouded cheerfulness throughout the whole of it, which appears extraordinary amidst the difficulties and fatigue of a toilsome and vexatious journey; and which illustrates the peculiarity of his genuine humour, as well as of the mild but intrepid resolution,

resolution, that dignified and distinguished his character.

The few Poems which appear at the end of the first volume, were the amusements of an idle hour; and I publish them merely to shew the never-failing playfulness of his disposition, as well as the cordial tenderness of his heart. If they display not any thing of that brilliancy and animation which might have been expected from him, they at least contain very elegant and pleasing lines.

In his Essays in the *Indian Observer*, if there be not any novelty of subject, or nice distinctions in morals and criticism, they at least represent the pure and immutable principles of private ethics in a lively and pleasing manner, and enforce the efficacy of virtue and religion with the simple energy of truth. And when the reader is informed that these Essays were generally composed amidst the bustle of business, or the frolics of hilarity, without either care or preparation, he will be indulgent to the blemishes which he may find they contain.

It has indeed been objected to the *Indian Observer*, that he is not sufficiently Asiatick; that his observations do not embrace so wide a sphere of life as might have been expected; for that he should have delineated the character of the native inhabitants of India. But it should be recollected that this was foreign to Mr. Boyd's purpose; which was to instruct and amuse the English society at Madras, on those subjects to which he conceived they paid too little attention. His grand object was to animate the provinces with the spirit of the mother-country; by the inculcation of moral truths, by rousing the passions on the side of virtue, by infusing a desire for the pursuits of polite literature, and a taste for the curiosities of art. He lamented, that in India so great a portion of time was devoted to the avocation of office, and laudably endeavoured to inspire his countrymen with more elevated sentiments. He told them in the words of Moliere,

A de plus hauts objets elevez vos desirs,

Songez à prendre un goût des plus nobles plaisirs.

That he has executed his design with dignity, will not, I believe, be denied; though
from

from negligence on some subjects, he is lax and undefined. On morals, as on literature, his sentiments are liberal, his taste is pure, his judgment exact, and his diction always perspicuous, easy, and elegant.

Throughout the whole of his writings he may, with a few exceptions, be said to have preserved the medium so elegantly described by the Abbé MAURY, "that keeps between the extreme of neglecting application, which adds to the defects of taste, and the excess of labour, which deadens the transports of genius." And in the letters of *Junius*, as well as in his other political productions, he has attained that nervous simplicity of language, which is at once familiar without being common, easy without being feeble, concise without being forced, energetick without constraint, rapid without irregularity, spirited without vehemence, and severe without harshness.

*Verba togæ sequeris, juncturâ callidus acris,
Ore teres modico, pallentes radere mores
Doctus & ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.**

* Perf. Sat. V.

SUCH

SUCH is the Life and Character of HUGH BOYD, delineated, I hope, with the integrity of truth, though it may be, I have at times imperceptibly leaned to the side of friendship. If for this I should be condemned by the austerity of Justice, I have yet an appeal to Benevolence, from whom I shall expect a milder sentence. But let not even Justice too rashly frown, for mature reflection may soften her decree.

In estimating the qualities of Boyd, much candour and consideration is required. It is necessary to distinguish his foibles from those of others. Most men only shew to the world their fair sides, concealing, under a dazzling varnish, innumerable faults; whereas his frailties, however great, appeared open as day, whilst some of the noblest virtues, like diamonds in the mine, were impervious to the sight of the superficial observer. If there are those who should tax the justness of this observation, and who to his imperfections should give a harsher name, let them reflect on the frailties incident to nature, and the mutability of their own condition; let them learn,

learn, in the sublime language of Shakespeare, the duty of fellowship, and the amiableness of candour.

————— How would you be,
If he who is the top of judgment should
But judge you as you are? Oh! think on that,
And mercy will then breathe within your lips,
Like man new made.

If in tracing the wanderings of a friend's life, I have been led into greater length than I foresaw, I request my readers to examine their own hearts, and if there they find no apology for that fondness which deludes reason, and "bathes the spirits in delight," in contemplating the genius and virtues of a departed friend, even the eloquent sensibility of a Jaffier may plead in vain. The first duty of a Biographer is to lay open the lights and shades of his hero's character, and by the strong effect of finished colouring, to encourage the modesty of virtuous indigence, and repress the insolence of prosperous vice. How well I have performed this duty, it remains for the publick to determine. I shall wait their decision with anxiety,

anxiety, but not without confidence: for having contributed my mite to the cause of Friendship, Virtue, and Truth, I shall at least be intitled to the praise of having endeavoured well.

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APPENDIX

TO

THE LIFE.

*A Letter from Mr. J. ALMON, to L. D. CAMPBELL, Esq.
containing some strong circumstantial Proofs of Mr. BOYD
having been the real Author of JUNIUS.*

Box-Moor, near Hemel-Hempstead, Herts,
December 10, 1798.

SIR,

MY reasons for believing that the letters signed *Junius*, were written by the late Mr. Hugh Boyd, are founded upon the following circumstances.

During the autumn of the year 1769, I believe in the month of October, a meeting of the Proprietors of the *London Evening Post* was held at the Queen's-Arms, St. Paul's Church-yard, a house which at that time was much frequented by booksellers. The persons present were,
John

John Gretton, Esq.* Mr. Rivington, bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-yard; Mr. Longman, bookseller, in Paternoster-row; Mr. Owen, bookseller, at Temple-bar; Mr. Miller, Printer of the *London Evening Post*; Mr. Woodfall, Printer of the *Publick Advertiser*, (in which the letters of *Junius* were originally published) myself, and I think one more. After the business was over, there was a general conversation concerning newspapers, and other topics, in the course of which something was remarked, which caught Mr. Woodfall's attention, for he immediately said, that he had a letter from *Junius* in his pocket, which he had just received, in which there was a passage, or paragraph, that related to the subject we were then talking of, and he would read it; then taking the letter out of his pocket, he read the part he had spoken of. The letter consisted of three or four sheets (or more) in small folio, such as we technically call fool's cap. As the other sheets, which Mr. Woodfall was not reading from, lay upon the table, I saw them in common with the rest of the company, but did not take them into my hands. The moment I saw the hand-writing, I had a *strong suspicion* that it was Mr. Boyd's, *whose hand-writing I knew*, having received several letters from him concerning books. I took no notice of the matter at that time. But the next time that Mr. Boyd called on me, for he was in the habit of frequently calling on me in Piccadilly, I said to him, that I had seen a part of one of *Junius's* letters, in manuscript, which I believed was his hand-writing—he changed colour instantly, and after a short pause, said, “*the similitude of hand-writing is not a conclusive fact.*” — Though these words do not acknowledge the truth of the suspicion, they

* Now of Belmont-Place, Vauxhall.

do not, however, positively deny it. These were my first grounds of suspicion; whether justly or not, this letter is designed to explain.

About a month, or six weeks afterwards, Lord Temple asked me, if I knew the writer of the letters signed *Junius*? I told his Lordship that I did not, but that I had my suspicions. His Lordship said, he had his suspicions also; but they did not go to Mr. Burke, yet he had no doubt of the writer being an Irishman.

Upon this seemingly indifferent circumstance, I cannot avoid making two remarks: one is—that every reader of *Junius*'s letters must have observed, that the affairs of Ireland form a very prominent feature in them. The other is—that though all parties were at this time abusing Lord Temple—Lord Rockingham's friends, because he had refused to accept of the administration, when that noble Lord implored him almost upon his knees—the ministry, because he opposed their measures—the court, from pure hatred, because he would not be duped by Lord Bute's machinations: and though these parties hated each other, yet they united in the abuse of Lord Temple. *Junius* joins not with any of these parties, respecting Lord Temple. On the contrary, whenever he speaks of that noble Lord, it is of his firmness, perseverance, patriotism, and virtue; and I can add, from my own knowledge, that whenever Mr. Boyd spoke of Lord Temple, it was always in similar terms. *Junius* says of himself, “to write for fame, and to be unknown—to support the intrigues of faction, and to be disowned by every party in the kingdom, are contradictions which the minister must reconcile, before I forfeit my credit with the publick.”

On the nineteenth of December 1769, was published *Junius*'s address to the King, for which several of the print-

ers were prosecuted, together with myself, who had no concern whatever in the printing of it. The case was shortly this: on the first day of January 1770, some of the monthly magazines, into which this letter of *Junius* was copied, were sold by my servants; for which act of selling, in the common course of business, the attorney-general (Mr. De Grey, afterwards Lord Walsingham) filed an information, *ex officio*, against me, as a publisher; although the true publisher's name was on the title-page of the magazine, and I had no kind of connexion with it, immediately or remotely, directly or indirectly, and he might, with the same justice, have prosecuted all the booksellers in England, for all of them sell the monthly magazines.

At the time of striking the special jury, which I attended, I objected to those gentlemen being on the jury who held places under the crown. Mr. Burrows, at that time master of the crown office, where the jury was struck, said that my objection was frivolous. I replied, that this being a prosecution in which the crown was party, I could not think it proper that a servant of either party should be on the jury. He made no answer, but went on; and notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, I could not prevent a placeman being foreman of the jury, viz. Mr. Morle of the war-office. When the business was over, Mr. Nuthall's clerk (Nuthall was solicitor to the treasury) came up to me, and said, "We are certain you know the author, we only want to come at him; if you will give us the proper information, I am authorized by Mr. Nuthall to assure you, that this prosecution shall not go on." My answer was, that I did not know the author. The prosecution was made as expensive as possible. The information was extended to one hundred and thirty-seven sheets. My own attorney's bill exceeded one hundred and forty-nine pounds.

pounds. This was distinct from the other heavy expences. The late Sir Herbert Mackworth, who was one of the jury, made a strong affidavit in my favour, as did some other gentlemen: but all was of no avail. A few weeks afterwards, the trials of the *real* printers and publishers came on, when they were all acquitted. Several months after these acquittals, I was sentenced to pay a fine, and put under an interdiction, or security for good behaviour, in the sum of eight hundred pounds. The hardship of this is, that nobody can ascertain what is the precise meaning of this expression, "for good behaviour"—a breach of it may be any thing the attorney-general pleases to call so. I can say with truth, that there is no man, now alive, who has been so vindictively prosecuted and persecuted, during a long series of years, as I have been, nor so unjustly.

During the whole time that this prosecution was going on, Mr. Boyd never once called upon me; which I could not help observing, because before this time, he commonly called twice or thrice a week; and I thought it not less remarkable, that after the prosecution was totally at an end, he resumed his former custom.

In the month of January 1772, the last letter signed *Junius* was published. A short time after, Mr. Boyd left London; I cannot say the exact date, nor to what place he went. But, in your Preface to the *Indian Observer*, in the last paragraph but one, you say, that the *Freeholder*, known to be written by Mr. Boyd, was published in Ireland, (at Belfast) in 1772*. I have already observed, that the affairs of Ireland make a prominent feature in *Junius's* letters. If the date, therefore, of the *last* of *Junius*

* This was a mistake. Mr. Boyd went to Ireland in 1772, but did not publish the *Freeholder* till 1776. Ed.

in England, and the date of the *first* paper of the *Freeholder* in Ireland, do not shew a strong improbability of their coming from the same inkstand, there will not seem any violent impropriety in connecting them; as coming from the same writer. The eulogium on *Junius* in the *Freeholder*, may be judicious—to give immediate currency to his new paper. Some modest people may perhaps imagine, that a capital writer would not praise himself. *Junius* was not so delicate: witness the letters signed *Philo-Junius*, avowedly written by himself; what are they but eulogiums on *Junius*? and under his own signature, did he not once say, that the BIBLE and *Junius* would be read, when the Jesuits were forgotten? *Junius* knew the utility of a seasonable eulogium, as well as any man. All men are not alike in apprehension and discernment; it is often necessary that some things should be pointed out; what is latent, or not prominent, should be made obvious; and this is best done by collateral assistance. Periodical writers have been allowed the use of this kind of supplementary aid, to support their credit with the publick. Lord Chesterfield practised it, when he wrote in the paper called *Common Sense*: and Mr. Wilkes practised it, when he wrote *North Briton*.

I know there are some persons, who are not disposed to give credit to the account of Mr. Boyd being the author of the letters signed *Junius*; and they found their doubts upon their own opinion of his talents, which they say were not equal to the abilities displayed in those letters. Every candid person will observe, that this objection rests upon opinion only; and it may further be observed, that men, and sometimes great men, differ widely in their opinions upon the talents of writers. Far be it from me to offer an opinion upon the subject; but I hope I may, without in-

curring

curring the guilt of presumption, be allowed to recommend a comparison between the letters of *Junius* and the papers avowedly written by Mr. Boyd. Whoever will be at the trouble of reading the Introduction to two Speeches of Lord Chatham, written and taken by Mr. Boyd, will probably say, that there is not any part of *Junius's* letters, which excels the language of that introduction, in beauty and sublimity. Of the *Whig*, also written by Mr. Boyd, I have heard very good judges say, that there are passages in those papers, equal in force and elegance to any thing in the writings of *Junius*.

Another objection has been made to the supposition of Mr. Boyd being the author of *Junius's* letters. It is of a kind less rude than the former, but more frivolous. The former was to his talents, this was to his situation. Those who urged the objection, said—That the letters of *Junius* must have been written by a person of profound erudition, of high political connexions, and in habits of familiarity amongst the highest ranks of society.

To Mr. Boyd's classical education, no man who knew him, will hesitate to give the fullest credit to the great extent of it. The rest of the objection, if translated into plain English, is no more than this; that the writer of *Junius's* letters must have been a gentleman, or nobleman of high birth and fashion. This is so childish, that one need only be acquainted with the manners of the present day, to pronounce it silly in the extreme. Do gentlemen, or noblemen, in these times, sit down to the laborious exercise of writing a long series of political letters for the newspapers? The letters of *Junius* continued three years, viz. from January 21, 1769, to January 21, 1772. Mr. Wilkes found it a heavy task to produce only forty-five numbers of the *North Briton*; and every one who knew him,

him, must remember how often he complained of the weight of it; though six of the numbers were not written by him. The writer of *Junius's* letters must, unquestionably, during the time of their publication, have resided in London, in the vortex of politicks, at the fountain of information. This is an indisputable fact; it is proved by the immediate replies given to other writers. Besides these, there were, I may almost say, an infinite number of other letters, to which he did not affix the signature of *Junius*; some few on miscellaneous subjects, but they were chiefly political, and in support of *Junius*; together with many paragraphs, several of them particularly temporary. How I know the fact is not material. Mr. Woodfall will not, upon his honour, contradict me. All that I mean to infer from it, is, that during the publication of *Junius's* letters, the writer must have resided on the spot; and that no gentleman of rank and fashion, would live three successive complete years in London, for the sake of writing political letters, and answering anonymous antagonists.

As to the other part of the objection, that *Junius* must be a nobleman, or person of high consideration, it is answered by the next question, Can no man write like a gentleman, unless he is of high birth, or great fortune?

But there is another objection of more consequence than any of the foregoing. It consists, if it be true, of only a single assertion, but this assertion is made by Mr. Woodfall himself; and that gives it weight and importance in this investigation. He says, "that the letters signed *Junius* were not written by Mr. Boyd."

A few weeks after the *Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes* were published, Mr. Woodfall and I met, by accident. He immediately complimented me on the publication, said, "it was a very entertaining work, he had

"read it with great pleasure, &c. but there was one thing
 "in which I was mistaken, and that was, in supposing
 "Mr. Boyd to have been the author of *Junius's* letters;"
 and then he added, with an emphasis, "that Mr. Boyd
 "was not the author of them." These I think were his
 words. My reply was, I think in these words, "That I
 "had no doubt of Mr. Boyd being the author of those
 "letters; that he (Mr. Woodfall) never knew the au-
 "thor; and that as he never knew who *was*, he could
 "not undertake to assert who was *not*—the author."

I shall make no comment on this little colloquy. I
 have put Mr. Woodfall's words in the full extent of their
 meaning, and my own I have put in the opposite scale.

I respect Mr. Woodfall's character as much as any man
 can; at the same time I cannot depart from a considera-
 tion of my own. I am not conscious, that throughout
 the three volumes of the *Biographical, Literary, and Political*
Anecdotes, there is one untruth. To the best of my
 knowledge and belief, every expression and assertion, in
 that work, are founded in the strictest veracity. My only
 motive in writing these volumes was, that as most of the
 facts they contain, though very generally known at the
 time they happened, had not, to my knowledge, been by
 any person committed to paper, they would probably pe-
 rish with the few now alive, who are acquainted with
 them; and I hope that the task I thus imposed on myself,
 will not be deemed frivolous or invidious. There are
 many matters left untold, which do not relate so nearly to
 the biography, as to the history of our times. They will
 form a work of more considerable extent. I have devoted
 my leisure to it for some years past; and it has been, and
 shall be, my most anxious desire and care, that no false-
 hood shall appear in it.

There is one more circumstance, concerning *Junius's* letters, that is proper to mention. It is of equal importance with any one that has been already adduced. It is this. On the fifteenth day of April 1786, there appeared the following paragraph in the *General Advertiser*.

“When Lord Macartney went to Madras, it is well known that *Junius* went with his Lordship. He made himself useful to his Lordship, by taking some speeches at the India-House. No man ever had a better memory, or a better knack at taking speeches than *Junius*. He was happy in an accurate retention of all strong expressions. He went to India, because his circumstances were very circumscribed. Being a Whig in principle, it was not probable that he would differ with General Dalling, who was bred under the old Duke of Cumberland: but it is very probable that he will not agree with Sir A. Campbell. He is a native of Ireland, and received his education in the college of Dublin.”

Who can infer from this paragraph that Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius's* letters? None but those who knew the fact. Mr. Boyd was not the only gentleman who went with Lord Macartney to India; several other gentlemen went with his Lordship, whose circumstances, perhaps, might not materially differ, and who might have attended the debates at the India-House, as well as Mr. Boyd. The paragraph is not conclusive upon Mr. Boyd; and none but a person, who knew the connexion between *Junius* and Mr. Boyd, would perceive the allusion. If Mr. Boyd deposited the secret with any body, who was the most probable?—undoubtedly Mrs. Boyd*.

* It has been already stated, that Mrs. Boyd was not intrusted with the secret; but her anxiety on this occasion arose from a belief that Mr. Boyd was *JUNIUS*. Ed.

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At the time that this paragraph was published, Mrs. Boyd resided at Hampstead. The moment she saw the paragraph, which was the morning of publication, she immediately sent a gentleman to the printer, to request that no more paragraphs, alluding to Mr. Boyd, might appear in the paper; because she feared, that such information might essentially injure Mr. Boyd's interest in India. Her request was obeyed. Nothing more on the subject was published. A common observer, would read the paragraph with indifference; and many of those who knew Mr. Boyd, would scarcely find their attention attracted by it. But Mrs. Boyd is alive to the allusion the moment she sees it. She understands it in all its force, and instantly wishes to deprecate its effect. Had the allusion been totally false, perhaps Mrs. Boyd might not have been so quickly alarmed. *Junius's* letters had often been ascribed to many persons, without any of them feeling hurt by the report—because it was false. Mr. Boyd was not at that time suspected, I believe, by any body, except myself.

I have now vindicated, I hope sufficiently, the account given in the *Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes*, of the writer of *Junius's* letters.

My sincere opinion is, that those letters were written by the late Mr. Hugh Boyd; and I shall continue to be of that opinion, until I am undeceived by some better authority than any I have yet seen.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. ALMON.

A CONCISE

A CONCISE ACCOUNT of a short CONTROVERSY, which was carried on through the Medium of the MORNING CHRONICLE, in the Month of August 1799, relative to the Question, —Whether Mr. HUGH BOYD was in Reality the AUTHOR OF JUNIUS?

THIS CONTROVERSY having attracted the notice of the publick, I think it no less due to those concerned in it, than to the memory of Mr. Boyd, to explain the cause from which it arose, as well as the motive which induced me to engage in it, and likewise to give an impartial statement of the leading points on both sides of the question.

In the beginning of July 1799, Mr. George Chalmers published a book, entitled, *A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare MSS.* together with a *Postscript*, addressed to Mr. T. J. Mathias. In this *Postscript* he takes occasion to give some account of Mr. Boyd, to declare it, to be his firm belief, that Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius*, and to assert, that “*he was an United Irishman, by birth, by habit, and by practice.*” The last part of this statement of Mr. Chalmers, namely, that Mr. Boyd was an *United Irishman*, being totally void of all foundation in truth, and being a silly, but malicious attempt to defame his character, I felt myself called upon to expose the fallacy of the assertion, and to shield the memory of my friend from the poisoned arrows of his slander. I therefore addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, to that effect; and at the same time stated a few leading facts in proof of Mr. Boyd having written the letters of *Junius*, in order to prevent the publick from being misled on that point, by some plausible, but erroneous circumstances respecting it, which had appeared in the *True Briton*.

The

The following is the substance of the principal facts which I stated in that letter, with regard to Mr. Boyd having written the letters of *Junius*, viz.

"That Mr. Boyd, from his abilities and political connexions, was fully qualified for the task of writing such letters."

"That previous to the appearance of *Junius's* letters, Mr. Boyd had accustomed himself to write in a disguised hand."

"That during the whole of the three successive years that *Junius* wrote in the *Publick Advertiser*, Mr. Boyd constantly sent letters to that paper, which he wrote with the most impenetrable secrecy, which he superscribed in his feigned hand-writing, and which he chiefly employed Mrs. Boyd to carry to Mr. H. S. Woodfall's letter-box, with the most scrupulous caution."

"That there was POSITIVE EVIDENCE, in contradiction to what was stated in the *True Briton**, that Mr. H. S. Woodfall never knew that Mr. Boyd had written for the *Publick Advertiser*, before the year 1777, until he was requested by Mr. Boyd's friends to point out those letters, which they knew Mr. Boyd had written for that paper, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772."

"And lastly, that the writer in the *True Briton*, when he said, "That Mr. Boyd's contributions to the *Publick Advertiser*, in the time of *Junius*, are not to be held in comparison with the productions of that admirable writer," censured writings which he had never read, and which I defied him or any other man to produce. I gave this defiance with a confidence founded on the FACT, that no let-

* It was stated in the *True Briton*, "That Mr. Boyd was known to have written for the *Publick Advertiser* during the time of *Junius*."

ters of Mr. Boyd's were published in the *Publick Advertiser*, during the three years above mentioned, except those which are so well known under the signatures of *Junius* and *Philo-Junius*, those that appeared under the signatures of *Lucius* and *Brutus*, and those that he sent to Mr. H. S. Woodfall in Mrs. Boyd's hand-writing.

These facts had no sooner been published, than Mr. William Woodfall stepped forward to deny their validity, and to justify the assertion above quoted of the writer in the *True Briton*. In his letter, which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 12th of August 1799, which professes to be an answer to my *facts*, he asserts,—“That no man living knows more of the conduct of *Junius*, in the management of his correspondence in all its relations, than he does, his brother alone excepted.”

“That he knows the whole of the assertion, that Mr. Boyd was the author of the letters signed *Junius*, to be founded in misapprehension.”

“That Mr. Boyd was not capable of composing such letters; because his Essays, in the *Indian Observer*, are greatly inferior to them in point of style and sentiment.”

“That he (Mr. William Woodfall) can safely assert, that his brother Mr. H. S. Woodfall, shewed him every one of *Junius*'s letters in manuscript, previous to publication, and that not one of them bore the appearance of having been written in a disguised hand*.”

“That

* What Mr. W. Woodfall observes here, is perfectly true. The MSS. of *Junius* did not bear the appearance of a disguised hand-writing, to persons like Mr. W. Woodfall, who had not seen Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing. But I have already proved, that those who were well acquainted with the *one*, would upon an inspection

"That Mr. Boyd might possibly have disguised his handwriting, sufficiently to escape the detection of common observers, but that he could not easily deceive the acute discernment of a newspaper printer's eye."

"That even supposing Mr. Boyd *could disguise* his handwriting, it must be admitted on all hands, he *could not disguise* his style, and *least of all in that most extraordinary way of writing above his own reach of literary talent.*"

"That the writer in the *True Briton* was, therefore, amply justified in saying, that *Mr. Boyd's contributions to the Publick Advertiser, in the time of Junius, were not to be held in comparison with the productions of that admirable writer.*"

"That his brother, Mr. H. S. Woodfall—*never asked for any indemnity for publishing the letters of Junius, nor was any offered him.*"

"And that for all these reasons, I had committed a *gross error* in lending a willing ear to Mr. Almon's assertion, that *Mr. Boyd was the author of Junius*; an assertion which he (Mr. William Woodfall) *for all these reasons, declares to be founded in ignorance, and broached in presumption.*"

Such is Mr. W. Woodfall's answer to *my facts* respecting Mr. Boyd, the different parts of which, for the sake of order and conciseness, I have been obliged to transpose and condense: but the author will find, that although his per-

spection of the *other*, discover a strong resemblance between them. And Mr. W. Woodfall must be sensible, that as there was no *striking peculiarity* in the MSS. of *Junius*, he could not possibly know, whether it was a feigned hand or not; for, in order to ascertain whether a hand-writing of that kind be disguised, it is necessary to be familiarly acquainted with the same writer's hand in his private letters, or in the common concerns of life.

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formance has been stripped of its *rhetorical flourishes*, it has lost nothing either of its *beauty* or *strength*.

To this letter of Mr. William Woodfall's, I thought it necessary to reply; because the unqualified assertions respecting *Junius*, under the signature of *Woodfall*, if uncontradicted, might have carried some weight with them, although they were unsupported by a single *fact*, or any thing like argument or just observation.

I went over the same ground that I had taken in my first letter; because I only wished to *substantiate* the few facts I had stated, not at *that time* to *prove*, that Mr. Boyd was in reality the author of *Junius*.

I observed, "that as to Mr. W. Woodfall's assertion, that
 "the manuscript of *Junius* did not appear to him to be a dis-
 "guised hand, I could only say, it was no way surprising
 "Mr. Boyd should have eluded the detection of a news-
 "paper printer's eye, when even the perspicacity and
 "acuteness of Mr. W. Woodfall had been so egregiously
 "deceived by the hand-writing of *Junius*. For that to
 "say nothing of the *fact* itself, that all the letters sent to
 "the *Publick Advertiser*, under the signatures of *Junius* and
 "*Philo-Junius*, of *Lucius* and *Brutus*, were actually written
 "in a disguised hand, it must be evident to every man of
 "common observation, that *Junius* would have forfeited
 "all claim to sagacity, and would infallibly have been dis-
 "covered, if he had written his letters in his common
 "hand-writing."

"That with regard to his assertion, that Mr. Boyd could
 "not disguise his style, he (Mr. W. Woodfall) must be ig-
 "norant indeed of literary history, if he did not know an
 "hundred instances, of men of less talents than he allowed
 "to Mr. Boyd, having deceived the publick by disguising
 "their style."

"That

"That his assertion, *that Mr. Boyd was in the habit of corresponding with the Publick Advertiser in the time of Junius, but not as a studiously concealed writer*, was utterly unfounded in truth, for that Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall had told me, in the presence of a gentleman whom I had purposely brought along with me to his house, that he knew not of any contributions of Mr. Boyd's to the *Publick Advertiser*, in the time of *Junius*; that he had no recollection whatever of any letters of Mr. Boyd's at that time. And I reminded Mr. W. Woodfall, that his brother Mr. H. S. Woodfall had expressly told me in his own (Mr. W. Woodfall's) presence—that he did not recollect that Mr. Boyd had ever written for the *Publick Advertiser* before the year 1777, when he had sent him some letters on the affairs of India; and that although he could not give in to the idea of his having written *Junius*, that he notwithstanding thought him a very able writer."

"That it clearly appeared, therefore, Mr. H. S. Woodfall could give no account whatever of upwards of one hundred and fifty letters, which Mr. Boyd had actually sent to the *Publick Advertiser*, in the time of *Junius*;—and that as a man of his talents, sentiments, and habits, could not be supposed to have laboured gratuitously for a newspaper for three successive years, unless his writings had received the continued encouragement and applause of the publick, the fair presumption was, that the letters which Mr. Boyd sent to the *Publick Advertiser*, in a disguised hand, and with such scrupulous caution and secrecy, are those very letters which were published in that paper, under the signatures of *Junius* and *Philo-Junius*, of *Lucius* and *Brutus*."

The day after the publication of my second letter, there appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* a letter from Mr. Almon, replying

replying in strong, but moderate and respectful terms, to Mr. W. Woodfall's unprovoked and wholly unsupported attack on him, and passing over in total silence the coarseness of his language.

Mr. W. Woodfall, however, had now waxed warm in the cause he had espoused, and he lost not a moment in replying both to Mr. Almon's letter and mine. On the 16th of August, a second letter from him appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, in which he answers Mr. Almon, by shortly telling him, "*that it is natural for the father of a falsehood to protect his offspring: and at the very same time complains bitterly of abuse and scurrility; as well as of my angry and arrogant letter*.*"

Mr. W. Woodfall, upon finding my facts were not to be controverted, declined all further discussion concerning them; but said, "*that he was convinced on grounds not within my reach, that Mr. Boyd was not the author of Junius.*" These grounds, however, he has not deemed it advisable to state to the publick; and all that he urges in his second letter, relative to the point at issue, amounts merely to this, "that Mr. Boyd could not have written the letters of *Junius*, because his Essays in the *Indian Observer* are inferior to those performances, and because he (Mr. W. Woodfall) is of opinion that the manuscript of *Junius* was not a disguised hand." As both these objections have been fully considered and refuted in Mr. Boyd's Life, it is unnecessary to notice them again: but there are one

* I know not that I was *arrogant*; I am sure I was far from being *angry*. But Mr. W. Woodfall was probably aware, that anger, like wine, frees the mind from restraint, and leads us on to speak truth boldly; and therefore judged of the *state of my mind*, from the *truth of my observations*.

or two more observations in Mr. W. Woodfall's letter, which for the sake of impartiality I shall briefly mention.

He accuses me of having quoted him unfairly, in the following sentence, because I omitted the words printed in *Italicks*, viz:—"That it must be admitted on all hands that Mr. Boyd could not disguise his style, and *least of all in that most extraordinary way of writing above his own reach of literary talent*," for, says he, the words in *Italicks* convey the *whole force of the argument*!!—Now I certainly did omit these words, not because I wished to treat him unfairly, but because I thought their absurdity too obvious to require to be pointed out. Cannot Mr. W. Woodfall perceive that when he says, "*Mr. Boyd could not write above his own reach of literary talent*," it is most miserably begging the question; as it is taking for granted the very point in discussion. The question was, Whether Mr. Boyd's talents were, or were not equal to the task of writing the letters of *Junius*? And it was therefore necessary to have resolved that question in the clearest and most satisfactory manner, before he called on *all hands to admit* that Mr. Boyd, by having written the letters of *Junius*, would have gone beyond his own reach of literary talent. Mr. W. Woodfall might have called on those, who had previously agreed with him to allow this; but to commence an argument with declaring that *all sides must admit*, as a matter beyond dispute, the very point which that same argument is intended to establish, is surely the very *acmé* of absurdity.

Mr. William Woodfall next observes, "That the writer of *Junius* sent several private letters to his brother, some of them containing letters to individuals of distinguished character, which he requested his brother to convey." And he then calls upon me to point out the persons to whom these letters were addressed. Now I candidly

candidly confess I do not exactly know either the address or the purport of *all* those letters; nor is such a piece of knowledge necessarily connected with this question, which is not to discover to whom *Junius* addressed private letters, but who wrote the letters signed *Junius*. But, if Mr. Woodfall chooses to point out to whom they were written, I am fully persuaded they will have a tendency still farther to confirm the positive fact that MR. BOYD WAS JUNIUS.

The last letter which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* immediately relating to this controversy was one from Mr. Almon, wherein he justly observes, "that Mr. W. Woodfall has left the dispute about the person of *Junius*—*us* precisely where he began it; and has been compelled to acknowledge that neither he, nor his brother ever knew any thing about the real author of *Junius*.—And that when one observes Mr. W. Woodfall's boasting of his brother having shewn him every letter of *Junius* in the manuscript, previous to publication, one cannot help saying, that *Junius* was perfectly right in keeping them both in a state of total ignorance of him."

"Of two interesting facts concerning *Junius*, neither of the Woodfalls had ever the least information, and I say it with confidence, notwithstanding Mr. Woodfall's unfounded assumption: one is the reason, or cause of *Junius* attacking the Duke of Grafton in a manner so pointedly and bitterly. It must have arisen in some provocation real or imaginary. The other is, *Junius* never attacking the Grenvilles."

Such are all the material points* of this controversy,

* There are one or two circumstances mentioned in Mr. W. Woodfall's letters which having had occasion to quote in the *Life* of Mr. Boyd, I have not thought it necessary to repeat here.

which

which it will be found I have stated with strict impartiality, and from which I shall leave the reader to draw his own conclusion.

I beg leave to close this account with the following letter from Mr. Almon, which I received a few weeks after the controversy had ceased, and which will be found to throw additional light on the general question.

Box-Moor, near Hempstead, Herts,
Sept. 2d, 1799.

Dear Sir,

YOUR having postponed the publication of Mr. Boyd's Life to another season, affords me an opportunity to add a few observations to those contained in my letter of last year.

The principal objection made to Mr. Boyd's being the writer of the letters signed *Junius*, is, that his talents were inferior to the composition of those papers. This is putting the whole objection into as few words as possible. There are two things necessary to support this objection; one is, that the person who makes it should be well acquainted with Mr. Boyd's talents; and the other is, that he should be a good judge of literary composition.

Of Mr. Boyd's literary talents I have already spoken in my letter above mentioned; and therefore I shall only add, that Mr. W. Woodfall, who has brought this objection forward into the public prints, knew very little of Mr. Boyd, consequently he does not possess the first qualification necessary to support his objection.

In a letter, which he has published in one of the public prints, dated on the 21st of last month, he says, "With regard to what Mr. Almon says of the possible envy I might entertain of Mr. Boyd's superior capacity as a parliamentary debate reporter, I will fairly tell him, that *I do not believe, that Mr. Boyd possessed any such talent.*"

Every one of Mr. Boyd's friends know very well, that he possessed this talent in a more eminent degree than any other person, hitherto heard of. It was no secret; he never concealed it. In his ordinary conversation, he would frequently repeat, with astonishing accuracy, whole passages from speeches he had heard in both houses of parliament. It was impossible to know Mr. Boyd, and not to know the wonderful powers of his memory.—This is the strongest proof Mr. Woodfall could give, that he *knew nothing* of Mr. Boyd's talents.

As to Mr. Woodfall's *judgment* on literary composition, I shall not disturb it: but I believe that those who know him best, will be inclined to doubt it most. His pretended knowledge of *Junius*; or who was *not Junius*, amounts to nothing. He never knew *who* was *Junius*. I said it before, and I repeat it now.

My reasons for believing the letters of *Junius* to have been written by Mr. Boyd, you have in my former letter. But since sending you that letter, further reasons have occurred to me; which I shall now submit to you.

During the time of the original publication of *Junius's* letters, it was common amongst persons of distinction, to ask each other, what could be the cause of the writer's so *particularly* attacking the Duke of Grafton?—At this time Mr. Boyd resided in London, and lived on the most friendly terms of intimacy, and even confidence, with Mr. Harry Maclean, the younger brother of Mr. Lauchlin Maclean,

who

who was secretary to Lord Shelburne, when that noble Lord was secretary of state. About three months before the publication of these letters commenced, Lord Shelburne was removed from his office of secretary of state, and consequently Mr. Maclean lost his place. This was a great disappointment to Mr. Maclean, who had fair prospects. The removal of Lord Shelburne, was the act of the Duke of Grafton; or rather (in our constitutional language) it was done by the *advice* of the Duke of Grafton, who was then first lord of the treasury. I fear this will be thought a presumptuous assertion; but when a man puts his name to a writing, he should be pretty certain, that what he says is true. Whoever has access to the India Papers, will find, in the Minutes of Consultation on the twenty-second day of January 1776, 'A short Memorial of Services rendered to the Nabob of Arcot, by John Macpherson, Esq. whom he (the Nabob) sent upon a *secret* commission to his Majesty's first minister of state in 1767.' The Memorial sets out with saying, "Upon my arrival at the court of Britain towards the latter end of the year 1768, I found two important changes had happened in administration; the Earl of Chatham had retired in such a manner from power, as convinced the most intelligent upon these subjects, that there was but little prospect of his ever again possessing a lead in administration; the Earl of Shelburne had been dismissed, at the *instigation* of the Duke of Grafton, from the office of secretary of state*."

The

* This memorial contains several curious facts; and amongst others, the following:

'I obtained from my friend the Earl of Warwick, a letter of introduction to his Grace [the Duke of Grafton]. I waited upon his Grace, and presented him with a general state of India, and a plan by which the concerns of that country might be turned to the pub-

The *dismissal* of Lord Shelburne (as it is called in the Memorial) took place in the month of October 1768, and the first letter of *Junius* was published in the month of January 1769. At this time scarcely a day passed, that Mr. Harry Macleane did not call upon Mr. Boyd, to detail the news and politicks, communicated to him by his brother, with whom Mr. Boyd often dined. At this time Mr. Grattan was also in London, and they associated together in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771; particularly Mr. Grattan and Mr. Boyd, who were always on terms of the closest friendship.

Mr. Lauchlin Macleane was patronized by Lord Shelburne, Mr. Grattan by Lord Charlemont, who brought him into the Irish parliament; but Mr. Boyd had no patron; he was solicitous of the friendship of Lord Temple, and he would have obtained it, if that noble Lord had lived a little longer.

lick advantage.-----The letter [from the Nabob] and credentials were then presented: the answer of the Duke of Grafton, did honour to the best of kings, and the first of nations.'

"SIR,

"It is my sincere disposition, that the Nabob should have every support that is consistent with the power and interests of the crown to give. I will gladly receive from you every proposal upon that subject, and warmly represent them to my Sovereign; and I desire you to believe, that the Nabob's interest runs no risk from my want of caution; if you write to him, inform him of my wishes for his prosperity, and explain to him, that I will not accept his presents, however great my respect for him is; I will have no return for the just regard I owe him as a man, but my own sensibility. It is from my fidelity to my master, and duty to my country, that I will only serve him as minister."

'Overwhelmed with the nobleness of this answer, I took up the presents, and offered them in the name of the Nabob to his Grace's secretary, Mr. Bradshaw, who also refused them.'

Previous

Previous to the publication of *Junius's* letters, the Grenvilles were all reconciled to each other, and to Lord Chatham. It was at this time the general opinion of all ranks, that these persons must succeed to the highest departments of the state, whenever a change of ministers took place.

In this short narrative, it may be presumed, that two points are explained, which have often excited surprise; one is, the apparent, or probable cause of attacking the Duke of Grafton; the other is, the apparent, or probable motive for sparing the Grenvilles.

Whether Messrs. Maclean and Mr. Grattan contributed to the composition of these letters, is a matter only known to themselves. Perhaps they did not, otherwise than by conversation. Perhaps Mr. Boyd did not choose to trust them with his secret, and therefore he might truly say, "That he was the SOLE depository of his own secret, "and it should perish with him." If we admit this declaration to be true, and hitherto there has been no reason to doubt it, *circumstances* are the only proofs which can be offered: and *such circumstances* as have fallen within my knowledge, I have produced. They are sufficient to convince me. If any person has *better* proofs, that some other gentleman was the author of those letters, let him produce them; but until they are produced, I shall continue in my present opinion.

I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

J. ALMON.



FREEHOLDERS
OF THE
EMPIRE

POLITICAL
ESSAYS.

VOL. I.

B



POST OFFICE

LONDON

THE FREEHOLDER.

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO

The ELECTORS of the COUNTY of ANTRIM,

(In IRELAND,)

PUBLISHED AT BELFAST,

Previous to the General Election in the Year 1776.

Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt.

THE FREEHOLDERS

A SERIES OF LECTURES



THE DIRECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF ANTIQUITIES

IN LONDON

PUBLISHED AT BIRMINGHAM

BY THE REV. J. H. STUBBS, F.R.S.

PRINTED BY

JOHN JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

1841

ADVERTISEMENT

To the first Edition published by the Author
in 1776.

THE flattering partiality with which the following LETTERS have been received by the Publick, even in their detached state, it is hoped will justify the Author in this collective publication. He is conscious that they are not sufficiently prepared to encounter the severity of criticism. But they are intended to gain the concurrence of Patriots, not the approbation of Criticks; and though their composition should not be correct, he is persuaded their principles are just.

The urgency of the occasion presses for their publication, without time for correction, or even revisal. He thinks it necessary
however

ADVERTISEMENT.

however to advert, in a Preface, to a few points, either omitted in the Letters, or not sufficiently explained. The Series then follows, as they at first appeared in the publick Paper. The indulgence with which they were read, he trusts, will continue to attend them; and is not without hopes that their efficacy may be now increased.

PREFACE

PREFACE.

THE writer, whose unfortunate necessity it is to inculcate self-evident truths, has a delicate, and often a thankless office.—For it implies an extraordinary suspicion either of the dulness of his readers which cannot understand, or their obstinacy that will not confess. They, however, will probably have room to retort; and to complain that he, who persists in pressing obvious propositions, grows either dull or didactic. The man, for instance, who goes about to demonstrate that two and two make four, must have a very contemptuous opinion of the talents of his friends, or a very high one of his own, if he expect to render the subject agreeable. Equally self-evident are the propositions, that duty to our country is the highest

highest under heaven, that independence is more honourable than slavery, and liberty a happier state than bondage; with many others which the following Letters urge and repeat: the necessity of this repetition may be worth inquiring into. It is somewhat curious as well as useful to examine why doctrines indubitably true, are so doubtfully received, and require to be so particularly pressed.

Custom has been called the tyrant of fools. But it is more. It is too often the sanction of bad, and the deceiver of good men. A natural respect, an obedient sort of veneration is paid to the habits, the dispositions, and even to the errors, which have long prevailed. Every thing done appears to be right; whatever has been suffered is thought to be necessary. If, for a moment, a few finer spirits attempt to stem the torrent, their effort is overwhelmed in the multitude of contempt and ridicule with which the willing sufferers affect to treat it. Ignoble precedent prevails; and we sit down the contented heirs of servile calamity and passive obedience.

Thus

Thus thought and thus suffered the spiritless race of Cappadocia; whose blotted name for ever stains the page of history. She blushed while she records their depravity in rejecting the glorious boon of liberty, offered to them by their too generous conquerors. They preferred their usual servitude, and hugged their accustomed chains. Warned by this infamous example, let nations guard against precedents of slavery. Human nature is every where the same; and is always subject to degeneracy: and the same disgraceful causes necessarily produce the same ruin. Acquiescence to oppression is an admission of its right; and this admission daily enfeebles the oppressed, whilst it more than in the same proportion strengthens the oppressor; for it adds opinion to his cause. Usurpation swells and triumphs in its easy conquest, till at length the little remains of spirit in the people are annihilated. They at first neglected, next they are unable, and at last they sink into an unwillingness to claim their rights. Their slavery is decreed: and the tyrants are quieted in possession of their power.

In these countries, where liberty was the peculiar boast, and, as some of our old writers emphatically express it, congenial to the very soil,—the proper element of the free inhabitants,—it is equally to be wondered at and lamented that any cause should avail to its decay; but particularly that the servile prescription of custom should be set up against it. But in truth it is unfairly pleaded. For it is not the genuine ancient custom of the country. This servile subjection to superiours, as they are called, but who are really superiour in nothing but the accidents of rank and title, is the spurious and corrupted usage of modern times; and as different in nature as in authority from the exemplary practice of former ages. The learned and virtuous Selden well explained this subject to the first James. The arbitrary Pedant asked that eminent lawyer, what law there was to justify the right which the people claimed to resist his power? “It is not authorized in the books,” said Selden. “I thought so,” cried James, in triumph. “But please your majesty,” returned Selden, “there is
2 a law

a law superiour to the books; it is the *custom of England.*"

This country surely will not relinquish her sister-claim to rights so respectably justified. Rival of the liberties and the glories of her sister-kingdom, she will feel and she will exert her duty to resist the violations of her constitution, whether attempted by monarchy on the throne, or aristocracy around it. Conscious of the national importance of the present crisis, she will not pervert nor neglect it. Neither the tameness of modern custom, nor the aristocratick influence of titled usurpers, shall lull nor intimidate her into a desertion of her rights; particularly her primary fundamental right of free election. Nor will her spirit suffer her to adopt the despondency of some of her degenerate sons.

For besides the disgraceful plea of customary servitude, there are certain whining reasoners who affect to despair of the constitution. To what purpose, they ask, are individual exertions of patriotism? Majorities in parliament, they complain, are certain; government invincible; pensions and
• places

places numerous and decisive; and rotten boroughs an incurable evil. Thence they infer that it matters not whether it be well or ill represented; that all is vanity and vexation of spirit; and that no advantage can be derived from any candidate whatever. But this is wiser or juster in political, than it would be in moral reasoning, if the rich man were to say to the wretch who solicited alms, "My good friend, thou art miserably poor; therefore I will give thee nothing: I see you have been stripped, robbed, and abused, and stand in the extremest need of my assistance; and for that reason, thou shalt have none from me?" For, in the present instance, the electors are the rich and powerful men of the realm. They have in their voices the real constitutional wealth; which, if they rightly dispense it to relieve the necessities of their country, will return through her enriched channels with immeasurable interest to themselves. But it is to invert all principles of common sense and common justice, to argue that we ought not to support our country because she is oppressed. The very reason which
should

should spur us on to the most active exertions, is impudently manufactured into a deceitful opiate to dull and blunt our spirits. And in this instance it would be peculiarly spiritless and absurd for electors to despair of a cause, which is immediately their own, and solely in their own power.

Surely this great and respectable County will not incur the reproach of deserting such a cause, and sacrificing both the rights and power of the people. Other northern counties,—for liberty, with her two supporters industry and the protestant religion, is a native of the north,—exhibit a conduct more honourable. Derry, Donegall, Armagh, stand forward in the list of the assertors of publick freedom. Independence has struck a deep root in the land; and will branch out and flourish over the country. Some of the most considerable cities and boroughs, with the metropolis at their head, concur in the cause. The electors of Ireland begin to feel their situation, and to know themselves; that without whining their desperate prayers to Jove or Hercules for assistance, they need only apply their own

own shoulders to the wheel ; and that their own efforts will certainly avail, to extricate the political machine from the bogs and filth which have hitherto clogged its operations.

But fact, as well as argument, is against this unmanly despair. The defeat of the mortgage-bill, the repeal of the vestry-bill, and other signal successes in parliament, are memorable proofs of the advantages to be derived to the country from constitutional representatives. These eminent services plead unanswerably in favour of the achievers of them ; and inculcate, beyond contradiction, as well to our interest as our gratitude, the necessity of electing the same victorious patriots to oppose with equal success the revival of those dangerous designs, and the innovation of other mischiefs which impend. For, let this country be timely warned. The spirit of despotism is gone forth. Oppression her object, devastation her means, famine, sword, and fire her instruments, even now she ravages the new world. If Heaven, for ultimate purposes beyond human reach, permit success

to the oppressor; and if that mighty continent must sink to slavery, can this little island hope for a happier doom; unless she call forth all her virtue, and exert all her spirit, to deserve and to obtain it? Flushed with the false glories of her unnatural conquest, will the power of England spare her passive sister-kingdom, when she has crushed the active and just exertions of her sons? This unhappy country will then feel, and will lament too late, the mischiefs of her voluntary folly, in abetting the tyranny of the parent-state over her dependencies. For, what better name than tyranny can be given to a system of arbitrary exaction, supported by the sword?—What other principles can actuate our rulers to the prosecution of such a war? What is its object? Not taxation. That the ministers have publickly disclaimed in parliament: and General Burgoyne in his letter to Lee expressly abandons it. “If,” says he, “relief from the uncommercial taxes, (tea, &c.) be the object of the quarrel, the war is at an end.” Why then was not that relief afforded them, in order to end the war? Because the ministers pretended

pretended it would not have satisfied America. "She aims at independence, and total disconnexion from Great-Britain!" The ministers say so; perhaps they think so. But shall the random or malicious guesses of ignorant men, for such they have been proved, be admitted as conclusive evidence against the peace and happiness of the empire. Certainly not: even if no answer were given to them. For to accuse, is not to condemn; and administration are not yet participant of the infallibility of their new ally at Rome; so as to command implicit assent to their assertions, because they are theirs. But America can give up this advantage of throwing the proof on her accusers; and can disprove this only charge against her, even to demonstration. There are but three ways to discover the intentions of men; viz. their declarations, their actions, and their interest. When these concur, my position is, that they prove the intention. I assert then, and it is plain matter of fact, that they do concur to shew the earnest intention of America to continue her accustomed dependence on the mother-country.

Their

Their *declarations* to that effect have been uniform, solemn, and full. In all the votes, resolutions, petitions, publications of the Congress, that obedient idea of naval and commercial dependence is anxiously maintained. That admirable assembly, which in wisdom, virtue, and fortitude, truly represents its constituents, deprecates only the monstrous and mad proceeding, which would add to the monopoly of their trade and manufacture an arbitrary taxation of their internal property. And it is particularly observable, that they only complain of the arbitrary practice of universal taxation; and not of the general principle. For in all their applications, either to King or Parliament, they never require the repeal of the declaratory act, which establishes that principle: but it intends it however, as all principles ought to be intended, to be acted upon with equity and moderation.—The supreme power and right of Great-Britain is there declared “in all cases whatsoever.” And it may be admitted to exist in all cases, either external or internal. But the declaratory act does not, cannot say, that it

VOL. I. C equally

equally exists at all times, and for all purposes; to be exercised arbitrarily either to glut corruption, to indulge caprice, or to satiate revenge. There may be a right; but it may lose its nature, and become the most odious wrong, by unjust exertions. The King, for instance, may have a right to press his subjects, or a particular description of them, into the sea-service. And the most constitutional lawyers decide so. But even the most hardened lawyer would blush to assert, and the tamest slave would rise to resist, a perpetual, unnecessary, and oppressive abuse of it.—But, to return. We have seen the *declarations* of America constantly in proof of their dutiful dependent intentions. Let us try them by the next criterion, their *actions*.

The fair point of view to judge these in, is a situation similar to the present; or, at least, to what was lately the situation of both countries; when I maintain the innocence of America as to independent views: which if she now entertains, we can only blame our own infatuation that has compelled her. The point of view I wish

to

to take is the state of America, previous to the repeal of the stamp-act. She was then, according to the language of parliamentary journals, "in outrageous rebellion." To restore the happiness and connexion of both countries, a repeal of that act was proposed. Then, as now, it was objected to by the false dignity of some, and the short-sighted prudence of others. It was then, as now, urged, "We must not give up the rights of the mother-country :—America will take advantage of our concessions, and will proceed to dispute our commercial authority, and to throw off her dependence." Justice, however, and good policy, prevailed against these injurious prejudices; and the stamp-act was repealed. The *actions* of America then evinced the sincerity of her dutiful dispositions: for she fell back to her obedient and subordinate station with an alacrity which extorted acknowledgment and praise even from her enemies; and the only advantage she made of our wise concession, was to co-operate in restoring the harmony and happiness of the empire. It was restored; and would have been established,

but for our fatal relapse into the former folly. About two years afterwards, the attempt at internal taxation was revived; and what was perhaps still more vexatious, was continued, at a memorable period which soon followed,—though Lord Hillsborough had, in the name of all the ministers, expressly disclaimed it, in his publick letter to the Colonies. The violence and folly which have ever since disgraced our councils and our arms, are not to my present purpose; which is only to prove the peaceful and obedient disposition of America; from which she was driven by the revival of our oppressions. These are unanswerable facts; which however are either unknown, or misunderstood, by those who decide rather by opinion than argument; and who judge more by their own passions, than the actions of those whom they condemn.

As to the *interest* of America, little need be said to prove how much her strength, her wealth, her security, and happiness, depend on Great-Britain. It is undeniable in argument that infinite advantages must be derived to Colonies from the protection of
a pow-

a powerful Mother-country, while she dispenses to them a participation of her laws and her freedom, as far as the nature of Colonies can admit, and is content with their honourable dependence on her, without straining it to total slavery. The happy experience of ages confirms this theory. Our Colonies grew and flourished under our wing. Their commerce expanded under our regulations; their wealth encreased by our permission. Their manners took a polish from our example; and the affection of the superior state indulged to them the means of elegant felicity. They knew the happiness, the strength of their situation; and they anxiously wish its return. They deprecate the idea of disconnexion from Great-Britain, or independence, as it is called, as a severe calamity; to be exceeded by none but slavery. The alternative to them is terrible: and nothing can drive them to adopt the former part of it, but our persisting to press the latter. So think, and so have argued, their best and wisest writers. The famous author of the Farmer's Letters has amply explained the *interest* of America to require a depen-

a dependence on Great-Britain. The still more famous Dr. Franklin, whose name shall for ever rank, not only with the wisest politicians of his time, but with the most eminent philosophers of any age or country, has thoroughly proved the mischiefs in which this dreaded independence must involve America. In his very able argument, published in support of Lord Bath's pamphlet above thirty years ago, the subject is fully discussed. The clashing interests of twelve or fourteen rival Powers, different in religion, government, manners,—resembling only in an hostile jealousy each of the other, are most formidably stated by him. And it is certain that such a strife of elements must produce almost an incurable chaos of confusion. No superintending power to preside, and to pacify;—no omnipotence of legislation to quell the turbulent scene, and bid order rise; the universal tumult must continue: and a fortuitous concourse in the political creation of the new world would be as desperate, as it is incredible in the natural account of the old one.—Against this position, no argument can be drawn

from the present union of the Colonies. It is a sudden, singular, miraculous event. *Quod divûm promittere nemo auderet.*—The ministers pronounced it impossible. We had their awful and frequent assurances that it could not happen; or if it happened, that it could not last. And I will admit to them that every appearance was probable that it could not: except, perhaps, the assertion of the ministry. That being against its possibility, induced many, who best knew the wisdom and truth of the Cabinet, certainly to expect it.—But it must be remembered that this extraordinary state of things has been produced, and is protracted, by causes equally extraordinary. The unheard-of oppressions attempted by one country have called into action and into union, an unheard-of spirit in the other;—a spirit, compounded of liberty, virtue, and valour, supporting an union unrivalled in the annals of mankind. And while the attempted oppression lasts, the spirit will spread and accumulate, and the union strengthen. Till, when at last the feebleness of despotism shall fail, and the *vis consilii expers mole ruat sua*,
this

this extraordinary fabrick of united interests shall also dissolve. When the cement which held them together is withdrawn, they naturally sink and separate. It was the common enemy that made common cause among them. With that powerful motive, the effect would also cease: for their interests would cease to be common; or, at least to appear so. And they must soon realize one of the dreams of the Priest of Gloucester, by falling into confusion and ruin: but nothing under omnipotence could realize his visions of prosperity to these countries; or restore the strength of the dismembered empire.

If therefore the declarations, the actions, and the interest of men, be the means of collecting their intentions,—and I know no other;—and if these methods concur to vindicate America from aiming at independence, as I maintain they do; she stands acquitted from the charge: and this ministerial assertion, avowedly the only basis of the war, has no foundation in fact. My inference is, that the avowal of the ministry is a pretence to cover the blackest designs. For designs cannot be fair, that are carried

on

on through deception, and enforced by violence. Taxation is not the object of the war. The ministers disclaim it. To check the independent views of America, was not the motive; for no such views were entertained, and therefore no such motive could exist. But liberty existed, flourished, in that great continent; and that is a crime of the deepest dye in the ethicks of modern polity. Certainly and consistently so; for our ministers have the merit of uniformity in oppression. They have a system to support; and they must reduce to it the irregular wanderings of spirit, or of virtue. It is not at all wonderful that such a system should exist. It has, in different proportions, existed often in these countries; and constantly in others. But it is rather extraordinary that it should ever find supporters sufficiently hardened to avow and to glory in it:—that even Mr. Rigby should not blush to maintain the necessity of tyranny. “We must crush America,” says this humane and modest gentleman. “We must not propose, nor accept any terms of accommodation; we must enforce from them

them a total, unconditional, absolute subjection." To this doctrine, and these measures, let Ireland seriously attend: for, through the amiable medium of this gentleman's tenderness, the argument and the danger come home to us. It is his favourite theme, and no doubt would be his speedy practice, and that of his powerful connexion, as part of the system they pursue, to rule Ireland with the same rod of iron with which they scourge, or attempt to scourge, America. And why should they not? It is their system. They claim a right *to crush us*: and we seem to admit their claim. Precisely the same principle of arbitrary dominion over the property and liberty of America, unlimited and unconditional, which some of the publick bodies of this kingdom have applauded, will operate against the liberty and property of Ireland. And it will indubitably be enforced against us; for our politeness will yield a much richer and cheaper spoil, than the rugged resistance of the continent. Then, when the land-tax is let loose against us to devour the country;—when the excise rises like a pestilence to grind the faces and penetrate the vitals of
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the poor;—when the unsparing hand of power wrings from us the uttermost farthing to purchase the little light of Heaven that shall be able to pierce through the clouds of our miseries;—when the whole region of revenue-plagues shall come upon us like an armed man;—shall we dare to complain?—shall we presume to murmur?

“No,” we shall well be told, “you have approved our principle, and encouraged our proceedings. If the principle were unjust, why have you justified it? If the proceedings be violent, why did you vindicate them? You have applauded and sanctified our doctrine and our measures: and have offered your lives and fortunes in their support. We now demand them; but, we tell you for your comfort, we should have taken them whether you offered them or not:” “For, we have a right to crush you into unconditional subjection.”

I have been thus particular in stating the great American question, to warn my countrymen of the critical situation of my country:—to rouse them to a sense of their danger and
their

their duty; and to inculcate a correspondent conduct of spirit and virtue. Their opportunity, and their only opportunity, is at hand. They may now give their honest voice in parliament; and affect the interests of their country there, through a real constitutional representative; who dedicates himself solely to them, and to their cause; and who has given decisive proofs of his ability, as well as uncorruptible inclination, to serve them.

The signal instance of patriotism in rejecting the offer of a seat in parliament, because he would not for a moment detach himself from the cause of the people, is adverted to in the following Letters. The equally noble and disinterested resignation of his military emoluments, deserve equal praise, gratitude, and support, from his associates in the cause of liberty; and extorts reluctant applause even from the adversary. To all the world he proves the generosity of his principle, which disdained the wages that might institute a claim upon him for a service, which he thought a service of oppression. To the judicious and the just, who knew it to be so, he

he evinces the wisdom, as well as the disinterestedness, of his patriotism. These are solid and substantial demonstrations of sincerity. Appearances may seem to flatter; probabilities may tend to persuade; but facts convince. Sacrifices, of this serious import, are not made for nothing. They argue a decided and confirmed opinion; and establish a certainty of its orthodox continuance. Except indeed with those political sceptics, who doubt the possibility of public virtue. This libel on mankind was first published by Sir Robert Walpole. And it came properly from him. It cannot be wondered that corruption and vice should vilify virtue. Or it may be admitted that they mean not to calumniate, but really mistake the point: as the drunken wretch, looking with distorted opticks through the medium of his own situation, imagines every other person in the same state of intoxication with himself. The malice or the blindness of such men knows no bounds; nor distinguishes any character. Even the sacred names of John Hampden, are violated by
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the injurious insinuations of the Scotch historian.

To such assassins of character, let us leave the ungenerous calumny. Capable of conceiving, because conscious in our own breasts of its existence, let us approve ourselves anxious to reward disinterested publick virtue. Let us coolly and unbiaſſedly compare the personal merits and the constitutional claims of our candidates; and let us effectually support the man, who shall be found to have an undisputable preference.

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THE
FREEHOLDER.

LETTER I.

They are the Trustees, not the Owners, of the Estate.

The Fee-simple is in Us.

JUNIUS.

THE great writer whose words I have placed at the head of my paper, is justly acknowledged to excel, in splendour of imagery, and in strength of diction. But his excellence extends to points still more important. No writer has investigated with such sagacity, nor with such clearness pointed out, the true nature of our admirable constitution. The wisdom and learning of Locke had ascertained some great fundamental maxims, which constituted, or at least contributed to form, the basis of our liberties.

But

But it remained for the succeeding address and eloquence of Junius to encounter and to subdue, at least in the fields of argument, the more refined corruptions of later times.

The gradual decay of the democratical part of our constitution, gives more serious alarm to every man, who knows how to value the legal freedom, *of regulating his actions by his own reason; and of disposing his property according to his own will*, for his own, and his country's advantage. These signal, and godlike, privileges have hitherto blessed these happy kingdoms. To secure to perpetuate the blessing, is the duty of every man in them. It is peculiarly ours my countrymen and fellow-freeholders.— It is indispenfibly ours: for, “the fee-simple is in us.”

Permit therefore *one of yourselves*, thus to fulfil his duty to his country, by submitting to you, with no other confidence than what truth inspires, his thoughts on this most important subject; and at this critical opportunity, which alone has been given to us by the virtue of persevering patriotism, to

emancipate

emancipate our freeholds, and to vindicate the constitution.

We are no longer sunk in the dead repose of despotism, and long parliaments. Those stagnations of corruption and filth, shall no more poison the land. "*Alba nautis stella refulsit.*" The returning day-star of the constitution again illuminates the political hemisphere; and, in fulness of splendour, displays the glorious moment which restores to us our original rights. The power which we delegated, and the trust which we conferred, revert to us. The constitution regenerates. And the new birth inspires new vigour. As the giant received renovation of strength from touching his mother earth, so the rights of the people acquire new spring and force, when brought back to their original and parent-source, the people's voice.

Surely my brethren will not be so blind to their most essential interests, as to neglect, or abuse, this only opportunity of protecting them. Is there a man amongst you, who will not praise and honour that truly constitutional measure, the bill for shortening the

duration of parliaments? Shall there then be found a slave, so sottishly dull, or so shamelessly base, as to thwart the glorious purpose intended by that admirable bill?—The purpose of independence—the cause of liberty!

Such, my friends, are the invaluable blessings now within our grasp. Such are the transcendant rewards now presented to us by the opportunity of an election. Power now returns to its genuine centre, the will of the people. It is theirs, and only theirs, to put it in action, and to prescribe its operations. The vital blood ebbs back to the heart of the *constitution*. Let us imitate the wisdom of nature, and we shall attain its successful effects. Let us give the vital streams again to flow through their constitutional channels. So shall the health of the whole body be restored, and its strength established. Every part of it shall revive and flourish. And the ghastly countenance of poverty and servitude, shall brighten into the smile of happiness and the triumph of liberty.

I have said, that the opportunity of attaining these glorious objects is now presented

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to us. To prove this important truth, and to inculcate the use we should make of this important crisis, shall be the business of my future letters.

In the mean time, permit me to add a word relative to myself. If the cause of truth required assistance, perhaps some might be derived to it, from the disinterested character of her advocate. To begin then negatively,—I am not actuated to this undertaking by an idle ambition, of applause in general, nor of the particular approbation of any of your candidates: for my name is unknown, and I hope will remain so. I am not a great man, nor a placeman, nor a pensioner, nor a Jacobite, nor a Tory, nor a slave; nor do I aspire to any of those honourable appellations, either jointly or severally. I do not on the other hand, “beat the drum of faction, nor sound the trumpet of sedition.” For I do most *positively* and *solemnly protest* myself, a ZEALOUS FRIEND TO THE CONSTITUTION, as established in CHURCH and STATE. I am religiously attached to the palladium of all our liberties, the liberty of the press. In short, I am a FREEMAN; and,

---a title which I would not exchange for a French dukedom, nor the highest seat in the Turkish divan——

I am,

Feb. 5th, 1776.

A FREEHOLDER.

LETTER II.

I cannot doubt that you will unanimously assert the freedom of election, and vindicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives. JUNIUS.

OUR suffrages are solicited by four candidates, for the representation of our county in parliament. The nature therefore of this great object, the trust of representation, demands our most serious attention. Duly impressed with an awful conviction of its magnitude, we shall proceed, with a due proportion of anxiety, to scrutinize the merits of those who aspire to it.

Let

Let me, in the first place, conjure you, my countrymen, never to lose sight of the great fundamental principle, that *You are the origin of power*. Government was constituted *by*, and *for*, the people. This is the voice of reason, and the right of humanity: and applies in theory to all the nations of the world. But it is our peculiar felicity, to realize the speculation; and to feel its actual blessings. We are *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, free.

The superiour freedom of our constitution, results from the admirable disposition of its component powers. These are exactly competent to the purest purposes of liberty. For as the natural tendency of each, is to the benefit of all, that is, to general liberty; so this disposition is confirmed, and confined to its object, by the relative controul of each power over the others. The people deliberate, the peers approve, and the king assents. This triple authority makes the law. The execution of which is entrusted to the royal arm, merely for the sake of decision and dispatch. For if the executive power abuse its trust, the controul
both

both of Peers and People impends, to rectify the abuse, and to punish its author. *If the peers, forgetful of the trust which their country reposes in their wisdom, should violently assume new privileges; or, BY GRADUAL ENCROACHMENT ON THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, should grasp at aristocracy;* the dignity of the crown should discountenance their attempts:—THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE WILL SUPPRESS THEM. If, lastly, the deliberations of the people swell into faction and sedition, a gentle but CERTAIN REMEDY is entrusted to the executive power. Thus these three powers constitute that system of government, so peculiarly the boast of these kingdoms!—so justly the wonder of the world!

But it is particularly observable, that the very essence of this system, is the jealous relation which the component parts bear, each to the other. This is the ruling principle; which, by checking the excesses of each, secures the just power and happiness of all. If this be in any degree relaxed, the general liberty so far suffers immediate injury, and incurs the danger of absolute
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ruin. For instance; if the people should cease to be the jealous guardians of their own rights; and, instead of controuling the executive, should implicitly acquiesce to it; that power, whose duty it was to execute the laws, will gradually grow above them. Furnished with the means of exercising despotism, the inclination will at least keep pace with the power. Manœuvres of government will then be practised with success, because without restraint; and, though the spirit of the constitution be fled, the forms of it may be preserved. Advances will be made with caution, lest too violent a transition should rouse the slumbering people. Their assemblies may be continued, as they cease to be troublesome; for corruption is an easier engine than violence, and more surely successful. New offices are created, and great salaries annexed. Old ones are continued, and receive great addition. Seduction assumes every shape, of pension against law, office without employment, and salary without service. Till, at last, the corrupt acts of uncontrouled ambition shall have undermined that constitution,

tion, which had for centuries repelled its open and avowed attacks: and our expiring liberty shall fatally verify the prediction of the sagacious Montesquieu, "It will perish" when the legislative power shall be more "corrupt than the executive."

This short abstract of our constitution in its genuine state, and of the dangers to which it is exposed in its abuse, will suggest to you many reflections. But none more important than this; that as the People, from their numbers, are obliged to act by representation; their department of liberty is therefore more endangered. For the common maxim saith truly, that every man does his own business best. The crown has a single, and therefore a clear attention to its own interests. And from the mighty increase of influence arising from numberless causes, some perhaps necessary, and all powerful, the rights of royalty are certainly in no danger of diminution. The Nobles are equally secure. Their wealth and honours, whether deservedly possessed or not, give them great actual weight in the scale. And the jealous distant spirit, characteristick
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of that proud body, ensure to them the preservation of it. But the People cannot take an immediate part in legislation. They are obliged to delegate their power. And delegation necessarily weakens the original force. Your necessary situation, therefore, in the political fabrick, exposes you to danger; even though you endeavour to take your post with wisdom, and with honesty. But if blindly you desert your station, and dishonourably entrust its defence to weak or wicked mercenaries, ruin must inevitably overwhelm the whole magnificent structure of our liberties. The glorious arch which had supported them, must fall to the ground; if its key-stone, the independence of the people, be permitted to moulder away.

Rouse then, my friends and fellow-freeholders! Again, and again, agitate in your minds the extensive importance of the present moment. The trust you are to repose, is the trust of legislation. In it, are involved your property, your lives, and your liberties. If you esteem them worth preserving, "assert the freedom of election," and, "vindicate

dicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives."

Who *they* should be, I shall, with due deference to your integrity and better judgment, submit to you in my future Letters. In which, if I freely and thoroughly discuss the pretensions of our present candidates; I trust the notoriety of the subject, and its infinite importance, will amply excuse me. At all events, I can truly say with the philosopher of Geneva, "I shall find my apology and comfort at the bottom of my heart."

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 9th, 1776.

LETTER

LETTER III.

All Members ought to be inhabitants of the places for which they are chosen. BLACKSTONE.

No Lord of Parliament hath any right to interfere in the election of Commoners. BLACKSTONE.

IT is perhaps unnecessary, but I find it satisfactory to my own feelings, to premise an observation, concerning the discussion of public characters.

Every man who solicits public favour, *ipso facto*, submits himself to public trial. As the confidence of his country is the object, merit to his country should be the means: and he cannot hope to gain his suit, until his title be thoroughly examined. In the most vulgar instances this preliminary prevails. The bailiff, who proposes to superintend your farm; the servant, who petitions for a menial place in your family; produces credentials of former good behaviour: and gives security for its continuance.

ance. When, therefore, higher trusts are solicited; the foundations of confidence should be more deeply laid. Let us, my countrymen, examine them to the bottom.

The Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, the Hon. Hugh Skeffington, John O'Neill, esq.* and James Willson, esq., are our candidates.—As a compliment due to *the stranger*, let us begin with Mr. Conway.

Mr. Conway resides in England; fixed there by connection, by inclination, and by duty. His father is an English Earl, Lord Chamberlain to his Majesty's household, and unalienably attached to the court. Possessed of an ample fortune in Ireland, he remembers that country only in the large remittances which he draws from her exhausted bosom: unless indeed his attention be sometimes revived at the polite period of octennial condescension. All his great *talents* (construe the word if you will, only as the Romans used it)—his universal services, his numerous connections---as far at least as

* Since the writing of this Letter, Mr. O'Neill has declined standing candidate for representing the county of Antrim.

he can sway them---are constantly employed in England; and are implicitly devoted to English administration. But inclination, as well as connection, naturally attaches a young gentleman of Mr. Conway's rank and figure, to London-residence. Besides he is indispensably fastened to England, by his seat in the British House of Commons. Whether he sits there, an *independent* senator, or a mere expletive of his father's interest, is not now inquired. He does sit there; and he must remain there. How then *can* he represent our county in an Irish parliament? He is not only not "an inhabitant of this place," and therefore an unconstitutional candidate, but he is an actual absentee from this kingdom, and therefore an impossible representative. The objection is insuperable. It is not an intricate deduction of argument, to which perhaps specious sophistry might be opposed. It is an unanswerable point of fact. He *cannot* represent you. Weigh then the consequence, my friends!---I was going to say, *my fellow-freeholders!*---But that glorious title would no longer be yours. You would
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in effect disfranchise yourselves. Every vote given to a man, who *cannot* act for you, is felony to your freeholds. It would be high-treason to your most glorious privilege, the characteristick of a free people! for you would surely cease "to give your consent to laws," when you withdraw your voice, that is your representative, from the legislative assembly. If then, no other objection prevailed; if his situation and sentiments were perfectly independent and incorrupt; if in short, instead of the present existence of things, every circumstance united in his favour; this single objection of absence is invincibly decisive against his claims.

A vague observation is sometimes advanced, that though absent from the Irish House, it is good to have a representative in the British House of Commons; where his services may compensate for his Irish omissions. This is hardly the shadow of argument. But as even shadows may alarm, it may be worth while to dispel it. In the first place, I beg the blunder may be rectified. Let him be called any thing but
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an *Irish representative* in an *English House of Commons*. And as to his services there, and the inference drawn from them, they are overturned both by fact and argument. First, what services, essential important services, have been performed for Ireland, by any of these Irish-English representatives? None; that they should not blush to mention: because so trifling, and so inferiour. But I shall hereafter, perhaps, press more particularly on this topick.---Next, if they had done real service to Ireland; would they not have done it,---ought they not to have done it,---without insulting us with this mock-representation!---It is an extraordinary claim to our favour, to tell us that nothing shall induce our candidate to serve us, but a surrender of our most valuable privileges.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 13th, 1776.

LET-

LETTER IV.

It is essential to the very being of Parliament, that Elections should be absolutely free. BLACKSTONE.

For thus to regulate Candidates and Electors, and new-model the ways of Election; what is it, but to cut up the Government by the roots, and poison the very fountain of Publick Security? LOCKE.

LET me again, and again, urge to you the motto of my third Letter. “*No Lord of Parliament hath any right to interfere in the election of Commoners.*” This is the law of the land. Remember it, my countrymen! revere it; maintain it. It is the grand barrier of the constitution. While it stands firm, you remain safely and invincibly entrenched in your own privileges. But if ever you surrender it to the enemy, you are irretrievably ruined. The democratick estate will be annihilated out of the constitution, and you will be melted down into a vile vassalage; the devoted prey and plunder of your despotick conquerors.

I am

I am the more warmly incensed to these remonstrances, and I doubt not but you will catch the flame, from a flagrant insult which I have SEEN offered to your rights; a direct violation of your most valuable privilege. I have read a letter from the Earl of Hertford, who, you know, is a PEER in both countries, written with his own hand and subscribed with his title, "*begging the vote and interest of a freeholder, 'for his son Henry, at the next General Election.'*" This I have seen; and this I will prove in proper time and place, if the fatal success of any unconstitutional conspiracy shall make it necessary for the independent freeholders to appeal to an independent tribunal. In the mean time, I submit the fact to your just indignation.

The claims of Mr. Conway were perhaps more than sufficiently refuted, in my last Letter. I cannot, however, forbear a short comment on his advertisement.---It is really an unique; and I hope will justify any tau-tology I may commit.

"My brother, Lord Beauchamp, being
"detained by business in England, does not

“ presume again to offer his services,” &c.---
Detention in England, it seems is an insurmountable objection against the *offer* of *service* to a county in Ireland. I heartily concur with the honourable gentleman. It is an insuperable obstacle. Why then does *he*, detained as he knows he must be in England,---why does he “ presume” to offer services which he cannot give ; and to solicit trust which he cannot execute ? But, “ Lord Beauchamp will not *again* offer his services.” Does Mr. Conway insinuate, that his brother *ever* gave us his services ? If so, we have reason to thank him for his candid confession of his principles. According to him, the country will be excellently served, by the absence of its servants : and the duty of parliament completely attended to, by being totally neglected.

The Hon. Mr. Hugh Skeffington next presents himself to our consideration. It is obvious that much of what has been said, and proved, against the unconstitutional interference of Peers in our elections, will apply as decisively against this gentleman, as Mr. Conway ; or, if possible, more so.

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The immediate presence of the noble Peer, who takes his title from your county, may have more immediate effect ;---unless, my countrymen, we steadily pursue the conduct, prescribed to us by every consideration that can actuate freemen. Our duty as freeholders, inculcates the necessity of repelling these lordly encroachments on our privileges ; even when they threaten from afar. But we are bound to the most active vigilance, when the danger assails our doors ; when the mischief is actually amongst us. Let every heart consent to abhor it : let every hand concur to cast it forth. Let us think as becomes rational beings, that liberty is the most transcendent blessing :---Let us act like men of virtue, and preserve it :

“ O! let it never perish in your hands,

“ But piously transmit it to your children.”

I shall, in my next Letter, consider the other grounds of Mr. Skeffington's public pretensions.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 17th, 1776.

LETTER V.

The great advantage of representatives, is their capacity of discussing Public Affairs. MONTESQUIEU.

THE necessity of representation in parliament, arises from the impossibility of assembling there collectively. Or, though this collective assemblage were possible, yet might we for convenience, prefer the mode of acting by representatives. For a great advantage accrues, from “their capacity of discussing publick affairs.”

Let us examine in what this capacity consists. Two qualifications are necessary to form it; publick integrity, and publick ability. By publick integrity I mean, a temper of mind superiour to all private views whatever; which equally spurns the allurements of corruption, the mandates of power, and the influence of connections; steadily and solely intent on one great object, the Publick Weal. Publick ability, implies

implies the faculty of attaining this object. An enlarged mind, to comprehend the publick business, an enlightened understanding to agitate and discuss it; and an undaunted spirit, to carry it into execution; are all involved in this extensive term. It is, indeed, a quality of the highest nature and use. And, standing on the foundation of publick integrity, constitutes that most glorious character, the capacity of representing a free people.

In comparing Mr. Skeffington's publick pretensions with these various requisites, I really find myself embarrassed. For, even in this publick discussion, severity should if possible be avoided. I shall argue, therefore, only negatively; leaving to your judgments, and your knowledge, to supply what delicacy suppresses.

To communicate to you, therefore, what I have *not* discovered; I am sorry to confess, that my strictest inquiry into this gentleman's publick capacity, hath not been able to trace any one of the qualifications which I have enumerated. It is, therefore, a matter of some surprize to *his friends*, that he should

should refer us, in the first paragraph of his publick address, to "the honour formerly conferred on him, in being chosen our representative." For, they argue, that he never was really in that capacity. The component parts were totally wanting. How then could the compound subsist? A reference, therefore, to that mistaken æra, serves only to warn us against a second error. Especially an error of such fatal importance. If he had never been in that situation; we might have thought it possible, that he should at least *seem* to fill it. But unfortunately for his present pretensions, experience confirms the dictate of our judgment; and realizes the beautiful allusion of Lord Bolingbroke, "that a little statue placed on a mighty pedestal, looks less,---dwindles into nothing---from its elevation."

It is obvious that I study to speak gently of this gentleman. Content with this negative argument against his sufficiency, I do not alledge positive charges of betraying trust. I do not refer to venal majorities, black lists, and the obedient *aye* or *no*,---the utmost eloquence "and service," of some representatives:

sentatives: I speak not of uniform devotion to the court, and to courtly connections; I only submit to my countrymen that, independent of such positive guilt, their duty as freeholders obliges them to reject a candidate, who is obviously and totally destitute of all the requisite qualifications.

Permit me, in some measure to atone to my own feelings, for the disagreeable necessity of these publick truths, by a just tribute to the private character of this gentleman. As far as my knowledge of it reaches, I gladly bear testimony to its being amiable, good-humoured, and friendly. Nay, there is a species of delicacy in it, which reflects some honour on him as a man; accompanied, alas! with an infirmity of mind that disgraces him as a senator. For I have good authority to say, that he laments the servitude of his situation. We all know, too well, that he cannot shake it off. He has sensibility to feel the chain; without the spirit, the enterprize of mind, that should cast it away, and dare to be free.

Reflect

Reflect now, my countrymen!--Nothing can be wanting to your free exertion of your privileges, and vindication of your rights, on this great occasion; if you give it deep and due attention. You will then be convinced that your grandest happiness, the true *summum bonum*, which the ancients puzzled for in vain, your LIBERTY is at stake. Founded, as it is, in every virtue; you will confess it paramount to every blessing: For,

“ Wanting virtue, life is pain and woe;
“ But, wanting Liberty, even virtue mourns,
“ And looks around for happiness in vain.”

To point out the path that leads to this glorious object, shall be the more pleasing business of my succeeding Letters.---Long enough have our eyes ached over this barren prospect; where no verdure of virtue quickens,---no publick service is seen to blossom. We will with pleasure turn our view, and our choice, to a more fertile soil, pregnant with the richest seeds: which wait only for the cultivation of
our

our favour, to ripen into the happiest harvest.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 24th, 1776.

LETTER VI.

He hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or solicit for any;—He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong; and, therefore is the most likely to act right, as a Representative.

SWIFT.

To whom, my countrymen! doth this glorious description apply? To whom would the immortal writer himself have given it?—who studied, understood, and promoted the interests of this country, more perhaps than any patriot she ever enjoyed! Most assuredly

redly *not* to the devoted connections of families, uniformly and universally enslaved to court-corruptions, and gaping for "court-employments." But as if the reverend champion of our liberties had foreseen the contest of this day, he almost expressly describes to your choice, your present CONSTITUTIONAL CANDIDATE; JAMES WILLSON, Esq.

"*He* hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or solicit for any:" for, his own voluntary virtue hath precluded him from the possibility. "*He* hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong:" Not only years of genuine and applauded service, with the constant exertions of uncorrupt abilities, conspire to prove it; but let us, with admiration, reflect on the immediate effort of virtue, which gives him to our choice: It is not only "a superiority to the temptation of acting wrong," but a *refinement in acting right*; unparalleled, I will be bold to say, in election annals. He hath "entirely rejected a seat in Parliament for a borough in another county,"---offered to him by a gentleman
and

and a friend; devoting himself solely to your service, in the purest spirit of liberty; while there is a man among you, who will co-operate with him to restore it.

However ambitious of a seat in parliament, he is more ambitious of the most honourable means of obtaining it. And let me repeat, with an unexampled virtue refuses the smooth and certain acquisition of it, through a private medium; trusting,---*mea vana fides!*---that his publick exertions against the grand conspiracy, may contribute to rescue the liberties of his country.

This is a fact, which it is good to consider. Considering, we must admire. Admiring, we shall learn to imitate, and unite to reward it. For, let us reflect, my countrymen! it establishes a claim on our justice, as well as our honour. Possessed of so valuable a certainty, and so coveted a rank,---the object of ambition to all, and the means of emolument to most; he resigns it. Why is this sacrifice? considered as a thing of interest, the honesty of his mind spurned it.---But, in its fairer light, as a rank of the most

most honourable elevation, why did he tear himself from the possession of his darling object? Evidently, for the still nobler and purer purpose of vindicating, at least in this sphere of action, the liberties of his country; and of restoring to you, the freeholders of the county of Antrim, your most important and transcendent privilege, Freedom of Election.---Not to see this, were more than blindness. Not to reward it, were worse than ingratitude.

But we will not admit, even for a moment, such unworthy suspicions. We turn our eyes with pleasure, to the more becoming, and prosperous state of virtue amongst us. For it is with the sincerest joy, I congratulate my countrymen, on the encreasing vigour of our just and generous spirit of independency. What thanks do we not owe, ---what support shall we not give, to THE MAN who hath roused this slumbering spirit, and called it into action?---devoting himself to fall, or to conquer, with it:---and who hath sacrificed to it, the very advantages, which other men make the primary object of their wishes!

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He who hath acted so eminently right as a candidate, is surely "most likely," in the words of my great authority, "to act right as a representative." It is therefore our indispensable duty to him, to ourselves, and to our country, to elect him to that sacred situation.—These truths are pressed on my countrymen, not from any doubt of their spirit, or their virtue, on this great crisis. But as it was well said by an eminent politician, "that the British constitution was *the business* of every Briton,"---which I hope, at least equally applies to Ireland ;---I therefore take the liberty of submitting to *my partners* in this great *business*, the plain maxims of *honour and honesty*, which must make every business thrive and flourish.

I shall, in my next, trouble you with a few comments on some constitutional points, which occur in Mr. Willson's publick addresses ; and which deserve our most serious consideration.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 29th, 1776.

LET-

LETTER VII.

The integrity of parliament is a kind of palladium, a tutelary goddess, who protects our state. When she is once removed, we may become the prey of any enemies.

BOLINGBROKE

IN Mr. Willson's address to you, two points stand remarkably conspicuous; the independent test which he proposes to take on the day of election; and the plan which he suggests, to collect the sense of his constituents, for the regulation of his parliamentary conduct. These are eminent features; and demand the nicest attention of the political physiognomist: who wishes to trace the true lines of liberty, and to ascertain the genuine son of the constitution.

Parliamentary tests were always proper. Even in the purer days of ancient liberty it was not unwise to *ensure*, by additional obligations, the faithfulness of the servant. It could never be thought unreasonable, or

ungenerous

ungenerous, to require from the agent, at least a promise that he would act faithfully for his employer. But what was right and reasonable in the most virtuous days, modern degeneracy hath made absolutely necessary. For it is notorious, that not only the *substance* of patriotism is melting away, but its very name and memory are falling into obloquy and contempt. This noble quality, the sublimest of moral virtues, as it approaches to the sacred nature of religion herself, so must it expect to share her abuse, and suffer her misfortune. Hypocrites are daily detected, who do not blush to prostitute the sacred character of both. * Miscreants are daily heard, who deny the existence of either; and who do not tremble to vilify and betray their God and their country. In this shameless state of public profligacy, it is necessary to adopt every caution, to impose every sanction, to insist on every possible security, for the fidelity of the representative. The honest candidate for any trust, will never object, will rather

* *Mescreant*, or *Mescreoiant*, Fr. an unbeliever; a holder of a false faith.

rather anxiously desire, to undertake in the most solemn manner, for the honest execution of it. For such an undertaking only anticipates, in a prospect pleasing to the mind, the course of its own integrity. The virtuous man's promise, is a draught on the bank of truth. He makes it with confidence; for he knows it will be paid with honour. Those only hesitate to offer the same fund as a security, who are conscious they have no correspondence with it.

The *sentiment* of Mr. Willson's proposed test, was adverted to in my last Letter. You there find it sanctified by the highest authority this country can boast, the ever-memorable Dean of St. Patrick's: who makes it the strongest recommendatory argument throughout his whole Paper; "Advice to the freemen of Dublin, *in the choice of a representative*:" a title, and subject, precisely apposite to our present purpose!

The point which next claims our attention, is the method proposed for collecting our sentiments, which Mr. Willson solemnly assures us, "shall regulate his parliamentary conduct." As to the *mode*, I do not pre-

sume

sume on its sufficiency. But it seems ingeniously imagined, and is certainly most honestly submitted. And this is obvious; that if any plan, more effectual, can be devised by the wisdom of the county, the same principle which binds him to your sentiments, will gladly adopt it.

This *principle* of "obligation to the sentiments of constituents," now deserves our peculiar consideration and applause, when the modern arts of refiners in politicks, are attempting to fritter it away. It is become the fashionable boast of our mock-representatives, that they owe no sort of duty or obedience to the people. "My constituents!" says a courtly member of parliament; "what are they? a wretched rabble; ignorant and impudent, to presume to lay their commands on *me*:—A vulgar herd; not fit to converse with, much less to dictate to, *Gentlemen so much their superiours*. No: I dine to-day with my Lord, and to-morrow with his Excellency, and *there* I shall receive my instructions."—And there, if you please let us leave him; for I am sure he is not *fit for us*.

We shall at least enjoy Swift's satisfaction; who comforted himself very pleasantly and very wisely too, when *great men* affected airs of haughtiness: "Aye," says he; "if they make *me* keep *my* distance, I make *them* keep *theirs*."

When difficulties occurred in the councils of Spain, the statesmen used to say, the genius of old Philip the second should be consulted. Happy for us, my countrymen! that we have a wiser guide to direct us in any constitutional inquiry—the genius of our free constitution. Let us consult this infallible oracle, on the question before us. And the awful voice shall answer in hallowed sounds:—"Government was constituted in these free islands by the people, for the benefit of the people. To effectuate this sacred purpose, it was established as a fundamental maxim, 'that no man should be governed by laws, made against his consent.' This, it was impossible for all the individuals collectively to give. A select number, therefore, must be FREELY CHOSEN; who shall collect the general sentiments, and speak the general voice;

“ voice; for the benefit of All, with the
“ consent of All. And they shall be called
“ *representatives* of the people; because
“ they are deputed *by* them to act *for* them,
“ as if themselves were *present*.—*Such re-*
“ *presentatives therefore can act only as the*
“ *creating power enjoins* : or they transgress
“ their nature, and lose their name.

“ It is too certain that this beautiful sys-
“ tem will be deformed by human frailty.
“ Overweening pride will sometimes swell
“ *above* the voice of the elector; and too
“ often will sordid interest seduce, *contrary*
“ to the call of the constituent. But these
“ are treasons to the constitution. *And he,*
“ *and he only, is her loyal son; who devotes*
“ *himself totally to her interests, and to the*
“ *commands of the people.*”---“ Nor let the
“ arrogance of modern pride object to such
“ obedience, as imposing illiberal fetters on
“ representatives, and enslaving them to the
“ vulgar. Let them learn, that to enjoy
“ legal liberty, they must submit to legal
“ restraint. Let them know, that a real
“ representative, acting *for* and *with* the
“ people; enjoys a situation the most liberal.

" and exalted, of which humanity is capable." For, let them be taught, Their country is a master, *whose service is perfect freedom.*

A FREEHOLDER.

March 14th, 1776.

LETTER VIII.

Tell me not of your engagements and promises to another. Your promises were sins of inconsideration, at best; and you are bound to repent and annul them.

SWIFT.

WE have examined the leading features of Mr. Willson's claim; and we find them strictly constitutional. These were certainly more than sufficient to establish his pretensions in an infinite preference to those of his competitors. But it is a justice due to such singular merit, to give it singular and particular

particular attention. For the more we analyze the subject, the more we shall admire its symmetry and perfection. *He resides amongst us.* An indispensable qualification: for surely the residence of a representative in another country, is the grossest mockery of the constituent. *Jurors* are, by law, summoned *from the neighbourhood*: and shall it be endured, that the infinitely higher trust of representation, whose very name implies the *presence* of the agent, shall be burlesqued, annihilated?—not only turned out *of the neighbourhood*, but banished from the kingdom! Law, decency, common sense, and common justice forbid it.—*He builds his expectations only on the free support of the people.* A truly constitutional foundation; which will not fail him; while we have understanding to value, and spirit to defend, our freeholds, our privileges, and our liberties.—*Slave to no court-connection, nor family-influence*, “he hath no employment under the crown, nor is likely to get or solicit for any.” A most powerful recommendation to your preference: for, *such men*, the same great authority whom I have quoted, assures

assures you, "are already engaged against you."—Happily gifted by nature, liberally cultivated by education, independent in spirit, and incorrupt in principle; he possesses that rare union of admirable qualities, which fully constitute "*the capacity*" of *representing a great and a free people.*

So peculiarly qualified, so unanswerably recommended by his intrinsic merit, it may be wondered that such repeated arguments are used to urge it;—for it would seem unnecessary to inculcate and re-recommend to your choice, the man who is in himself so evidently and infinitely preferable! Certainly, my friends, it were superfluous; if you be conscious of your situation;—if you know, that your voice on this sacred subject, is and must be free; even up to the moment of election:—that no power on earth hath a right to anticipate or direct it:—that you yourselves cannot engage it; and that if an unwary word or promise have escaped you, it hath no force whatever; "it is a sin of inconsideration, and you are bound to repent and annul it."

This

This is indisputably true. But as it is a point not sufficiently understood, permit me to add a few words upon it.

My position is, that promises, rashly and indiscreetly given, the performance of which violates the highest duties, and tends to the deepest mischiefs, impose not the least obligation on the giver:—unless it be an obligation, to “repent and annul them.”—The concurring authorities of the wisest writers and most virtuous men, were sufficient to prove the point, *ad vericundiam*, as logicians say, if it did not carry conviction in itself. Without recurring, therefore, to the express approbation of it by Cicero or Seneca, by Lord Bacon, or the reverend name at the head of my paper; let us simply consider the nature of a promise.

A promise is a voluntary declaration of a settled intention; and always implies some real benefit to be conferred on the person to whom it is made. If any of these ingredients be wanting, there is no promise; and therefore no obligation. For instance: if involuntarily I am forced to make a declaration to another, it does not bind *me*; for
it

it is not mine: I am not bound to conform to words, which a ruffian's pistol at my breast, forces from my mouth; for they are *his* words; and come to me only through the medium of his pistol; which, I presume, does not sanctify them. Again: the intention must be settled and rational. For, if I *suddenly* throw out *absurd* declarations, it is my duty to myself, as a rational being, to rectify them. The wild gusts of madness or intoxication, or the heedless folly of thoughtless precipitance, institute no claim on our sobered mind. Reason will resume her office, and vindicate her right to the fortress, which passion or weakness had taken by surprize. Lastly, some real benefit is to be conferred; or the obligation ceases. If I have undertaken to a man in a fever, to feed his thirst with spirituous liquors; am I, therefore, obliged to murder the delirious wretch?

Let us apply these observations to the *promises*, as they are called, of votes at elections. Are they always *entirely voluntary*? Are they always settled, well-weighed intentions?—founded on a thorough discussion of
the

the merits of the candidates, and a conviction that no worthier can possibly arise? Do they always confer real, genuine advantage, on all candidates who solicit them? Or do they not *sometimes* feed the fever of corruption; and, in the general calamity of the constitution, destroy the very men, whose intemperate delirium so *greedily* quaffs the poison?

Remember, also, my friends! that in the moment of election, you stand forth the immediate guardians of your country. Your sacred duty to her, our universal parent, is a free, unbiaſſed, *disengaged* exertion of your right of ſuffrage. To her you owe an original, unalienable, eternal duty. *You are therefore absolutely, and unconditionally, free.*—Except in the ſenſe, in which omnipotence itſelf is limited—by wiſdom and juſtice.

Act only as thoſe guides direct, and fulfil your duty to your country and your poſterity.

A FREEHOLDER.

March 9th, 1776.

LET-

LETTER IX.

*Hail, Independence, hail! Heaven's next best gift
To that of life, and an immortal soul.
The life of life! which to the banquet high
And sober meal gives taste; to the bow'd roof
Fair-dream'd repose, and to the cottage charms.*

THOMSON,

A Great and a wise king of Macedon ordered his attendants daily to repeat to him this salutary memento; "Philip, thou art a man." He knew the frailty of his nature; and thought it expedient to guard against its errors, by being thus constantly reminded into the duties of humanity. Let us not blush to imitate so respectable an example. Let us rather triumph in surpassing it; and daily, and hourly, inculcate to each other, the superiour dignity and duty of *our* situation:—*Friends!* YE ARE FREEMEN.

It was beautifully said by the Roman orator and philosopher, "Virtue is in herself so lovely,

lovely, that to be loved, she needs only to be seen." Her native, genuine charms, he represents as irresistible; and which could not fail of universal adoration, only if men would open their eyes and behold her. Such also, is the intrinsic beauty of liberty; rivalling, as she does, or perhaps even surpassing in loveliness, her lovely sister. For Liberty is the *refinement* of Virtue. The strong point of preference has been before observed; that as virtue is essential to the true happiness of life, so liberty is necessary to the happiness of virtue. And the reason is convincing. For liberty is founded in, and results from, all the good and great qualities united. Her nature must therefore be superlatively noble; and, to recur to Cicero's allusion, the possession of her charms must be the highest happiness.

I hope it is unnecessary here to disclaim the excess, or the abuse of this glorious principle. RATIONAL, LEGAL LIBERTY, AND ONLY THAT, IS INTENDED TO BE PRAISED; WHICH DIFFERS AS ESSENTIALLY FROM THE RUDE RIOT OF LICENTIOUSNESS, AS WISDOM IS DISTINCT FROM MADNESS, OR AS REASON EXCELS

EXCELS BRUTALITY. The admirable Milton has well distinguished, where he inveighs against the hypocrites of this virtue in the extreme. As the passage well exposes the false pretensions to it, and in the same proportion extols the truth, permit me to close these observations with it.

“ They bawl for freedom in their senseless
“ mood,

“ Yet quarrel with the hand that makes
“ them free :

“ License they mean, when they cry Liberty ;

“ For, *who loves that, must first be wise and
good.*”

That genuine liberty, in its true temperate perfection, is the scope of our happy constitution ;—that Parliaments, fairly representing the people, are the only effectual guardians of this inestimable object ;—that publick integrity and publick ability are necessary to execute the trust of representation ;—and above all, that absolute freedom of election is necessary to its very being ;—that, therefore, absentees from the country, nominees of Lords, and devoted to lordly influence

influence and court-corruptions, are unconstitutional candidates:—are the leading points, which have been submitted to you in these Letters. I will not insult your understanding, or your honesty, so far as to doubt that these positions required my feeble aid to prove them. They are self-evident truths; and, to be admitted, need only to be seen. Let me then only claim the humble mechanical merit of having displayed them to your view:—your own sympathies of virtue have the praise of instantly feeling their full force; and, in effect, giving them due attention.

Agreeing thus in the nature of these grand principles, a very important consideration remains for us, as to the mode of giving them due and effective operation. And I beg the particular attention of my countrymen to one very material and essential point.

Three candidates now solicit our suffrages. Two of them we see are proscribed, by every constitutional consideration. The third, we with pleasure adopt, as recommended to our choice in the same powerful proportion.

portion. The friends, therefore, of independence, and of their country, will certainly give their support to Mr. Willson.—But, *let them remember* that the only method to do so *effectually*, is to withhold all possible assistance from the others, his unconstitutional antagonists. The danger is, that well-meaning electors might collaterally and unintentionally destroy the effect of their first suffrage, and their honest wishes. For instance; a voter thoroughly conscious, as he must be, of the infinite preference of Mr. Willson's claims, resolves to vote for him. He does so; and so far fulfils his duty to his country.—But, he has a second vote to give? And for this he is solicited by acquaintances, by friends, by landlords, &c. &c.—in favour of one of our *honourable* candidates.—“ Well,” thinks he, “ I have
“ given one vote to satisfy my conscience;—
“ why should I not give the other to satisfy a
“ friend?—I wish Mr. Willson success with
“ all my heart; and I gave him *my first*
“ *vote*; but as I have a second, I must give
“ it:—so you shall have it, Sir.”—But the misfortune is, that this second vote weighs
just

just as heavy as the first; and thrown into the opposite scale of the adversary, totally annihilates the intended friendly effect of the preference given. So that at best it reduces the voter to a state of non-entity. But it may, it must, be worse. He will become the instrument of the mischief his heart abhors. For if the independent wish be thus frustrated by the annihilation of the independent vote, the confederated enemy must prevail. *Their* coalition and mutual support are certain; and are the very grievance we complained of. We do not now inquire whether the *trained bands*, who march in support of this lordly league, be allies or mercenaries in the cause. But of this we may be sure; that they will march to an inglorious victory over their country, unless her independent sons firmly and effectually unite in her defence.

I hope it is obvious, that the only method of doing so, is to resolve either on giving a single vote to Mr. Willson, or to select another gentleman of constitutional principles and independent spirit, on whom to bestow our second voice. Let us be deeply impressed

pressed with the necessity of confining our support to constitutional merit.—Let us anxiously remember, that the duty of a freeholder as powerfully precludes him from voting for an unworthy candidate, as it urges him to the choice of a proper one.

I shall trouble you with perhaps only another letter; in which I propose to submit to your consideration a few hints relative to the *test*, by which we are to try our candidates.

A FREEHOLDER.

March 13th, 1776.

LETTER

LETTER X.

A Patriot is always ready to countenance the just claims, and animate the reasonable hopes, of the People. He reminds them frequently of their rights; and stimulates them to resent encroachments, and to MULTIPLY SECURITIES.

JOHNSON.

THE latter branch of this patriotick duty is the only one which remains for our attention. My countrymen and fellow-freeholders are sufficiently apprized of their rights; and, convinced that absolute freedom of election is the essence of them all, they resent and will repel all attempted encroachments on it. Confiding, therefore, in your virtue to value your liberties, and your spirit to support them, permit me to appeal to your understanding, for the most effectual method to multiply securities in their defence.

In all negociations where trust is reposed, the leading and principal security is the

character of the person trusted. This is discovered, either by reference to his conduct in similar situations, or by a nice scrutiny into his principles, whether they be such as justify a future confidence: and inasmuch as experience is superiour to experiment, the former ground of confidence is more certain. But if both unite in his favour, we gladly receive him into ours; and confer that confidence which his tried integrity has earned, and his honourable principles deserve: and these conspiring proofs of *character* form no mean security to those, who feel in their own breasts the force of virtue, and entertain a sympathy of honour.

But as human imperfection for ever forbids an absolute certainty in human virtue, and as the solicitude for an object should ever be in proportion to its importance, it is our duty anxiously to ascertain, as far as is possible, the present merits and future virtue of our candidates for the trust of representation; to multiply securities, and "to make assurance double sure."

One of the gentlemen who submit themselves to our choice, more than meets us in

this idea. With the prompt alacrity of publick virtue, he steps forward; and by the proposal of a solemn previous engagement, for the ascertainment of his future conduct, he anticipates our wishes; and gives, before we ask, the additional multiplied security. This measure has been discussed in a former Letter; and its propriety established, as far as relates to parliamentary conduct, to ensure the virtue of representatives: let us now examine whether it be not equally expedient in a preliminary point of view, to discover the principles and discriminate the merits of candidates.

The name, by which this measure is generally known, leads us to its nature and its use. It is called a TEST;—a criterion;—a touchstone; by which we may know, before we approve; and try, before we trust. When a candidate proposes his services to electors, it surely is not very unnatural nor unwise in them to examine into his principles, to settle the import of the covenant between them, and to ascertain the services he is to perform. Without a precaution of this sort, an inlet is given to the most preposterous

posterior and absurd confusion. A gentleman may be sent to parliament, possessing perhaps the best intentions in the world; for, to state the argument in the fairest manner, we will suppose him at least ethically right. But unfortunately these intentions and sentiments are not the intentions and sentiments of his constituents. They think and wish, in a manner diametrically opposite to the man whom they have chosen to express their thoughts, and effect their wishes: and the most ridiculous contradiction ensues; their agent acts against them,—their representative misrepresents them.

It is obvious that this confusion, contradiction, and mischief might be decisively prevented, by a full and constitutional test: a test which might sufficiently discriminate the public principles of candidates; and in consequence, establish an additional security of their virtue as representatives.

When I speak of a full and constitutional test, you perceive that I mean one more comprehensive, and more effectual for the above-mentioned purposes, than that which has been proposed to your approbation by

Mr.

Mr. Willfon. As far as his goes, it is excellent in its sanction; and, in the fullest degree, disinterested in principle: and for him in particular, the freeholders to whom he submits it, would certainly think it superfluous to insert additional matter. But I conceive it will be found insufficient to cover the general extent of this great question; or to secure the particular purposes, which it certainly is his and every freeman's wish to promote. Effectually to do so, it will be necessary to enter more into the detail; to specify some leading particular points to the candidate,—some indispensable articles of political faith, to which he must conform, before we admit him to our political communion; or at least, before we confer on him its honours and dignities.

A FREEHOLDER.

March 29th, 1776.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

Resolved, That the engagement now read, be demanded on the part of the Livery of London, to be signed by every candidate who shall be put in nomination to represent this city in the ensuing Parliament.

ELECTORS OF LONDON, IN GUILDHALL
ASSEMBLED, Oct. 3d, 1774.

I Have not presumed to submit, much less to urge to you, any opinions which are not sanctified by the greatest authorities. The principles of the constitution, as they have been described in these Letters, are inculcated by the greatest writers. The mode of giving them effect, we see, at the head of my paper, established by the wisest practice.

The city of London hath ever stood foremost in the cause of freedom. From the days of Magna Charta, when her Mayor was the first to fix that glorious land-mark of our liberties; to establish on a rock the original

original rights of the people; to controul, with a patriot-hand, the tyranny of kings; and for ever to teach them this awful truth, that as the foundation of their throne is laid in the consent and for the benefit, so its security can only be found in the affection, of their subjects:—from that memorable period of triumphant patriotism to the present hour, alas not equally triumphant!—in the various course of the most trying and important situations, history conspires to prove, what is evident, exclusive of history, —that the city of London is justly raised to her present imperial summit by the virtues, as well as the valour, of her citizens;—that she is not more eminent for wealth than for wisdom, not more renowned for power than for justice,—deservedly the metropolis of extended empire, because confessedly the centre of established liberty.

Inspired by such an example, shall we not imitate its wisdom, and partake its success? Flowing from such a sacred source, shall we not reverence the hallowed streams; and with a pious zeal purify them from the venal filth and rubbish, with which the sacrilegious

legious invaders endeavour to pollute and pervert them?

To effect this salutary purpose, and restore the constitution to its original purity, it seemed good to the great authority which I have quoted, to propose to their candidates a certain solemn engagement, specifying to them many important constitutional measures, the signature and adoption of which should be an indispensable preliminary to their election. And the efficacy of the measure has been amply approved in the virtue of their representatives. The electors of that great city are really represented; and have, as all electors ought to have, a voice in legislation. They are not mocked with an absent representative, nor insulted with a wooden one. No Lords interfere to rob them of their rights, by the nomination of one, whose absence precludes him from the possibility of acting for them, though his connections should give him leave; or by the imposition of another, whose servile situation for ever disqualifies him, even if his natural disabilities were removed. They are neither cheated nor intimidated out of
their

their privileges : but, standing on the firm ground of election-independence, they send their chosen delegates, tried by the test, and approved by their judgment, to represent them in parliament, honourably, obediently, faithfully, and effectually ; exhibiting to these kingdoms an eminent example of the good policy of virtue ; the general adoption of which must, in the words of their noble statesman and orator, “ fix us securely on the summits of freedom and prosperity.”

Permit me now to offer to your candid and serious judgment, for your approbation, improvement, or alteration, or whatever may seem good to you, the following sketch of a test for our candidates ; as containing the grand desiderata of our constitution.

“ I *A. B.* do most solemnly promise and engage myself to my constituents, if I shall have the honour of being chosen to represent this county in parliament, that I will endeavour to the utmost of my power, to promote and procure, and having procured, to maintain and continue, acts of the legislature,

“ For

“ For establishing a more fair and equal representation of the people in parliament.

“ For vindicating all the legal rights of the people; especially their grand privilege, absolute freedom of election.

“ For subjecting each candidate for a seat in parliament to an oath against his having used bribery, or any other illegal or unconstitutional means of gaining his election.

“ For excluding pensioners from sitting in the House of Commons; and for reducing the number of placemen there, as much as is consistent with the public service.

“ For explaining the many revenue acts, which intend the great parts of the revenue for the service of the kingdom; which parts of the revenue it is therefore illegal to charge with pensions; and for distinguishing them from those acts, whereby the King is invested with a private property in a few particulars: in order to reduce the pecuniary power of the crown within law; and conform it to liberty.

“ For explaining, amending, or if it shall be found necessary to the freedom of the country,

country, for repealing the law of Henry the 7th, commonly called Poyning's law *; in order to vindicate Ireland from the hardships she sustains under the misconstruction and oppression of that law, obliging her as is pretended, to transmit, through the unconstitutional medium of the privy-council, all her bills to England, for the previous approbation or alteration, or rejection of the King in council there, and originating many of her laws in the illegal source of that privy-council,—thereby depriving her of her rights as a free country, and subjugating her to the arbitrary caprice and corruption of powers unknown to the constitution, Lord Lieutenants, Secretaries, Privy Councils, and English Attorney Generals.

“ I do also most solemnly promise not to accept from the crown, or its ministers, during the existence of the ensuing parliament, nor as long as I shall have the honour of representing this county, place, pension, contract, title, gratuity, or emolument of any kind, nor in any mode whatsoever: unless the extraordinary exigence of publick affairs

* This law, as is well known, was repealed, by the Act of Settlement in 1782.

should

should render it necessary for his Majesty to call for the general assistance of his subjects in a just cause; which justice, however, and exigence, I should entirely submit to my constituents to determine: For,

“ I do further promise, and bind myself to my constituents, by every assurance that a man of honour can give or expect, that I shall at all times and all occasions exactly pursue such instructions as they shall think proper to give me.”

Is there an idea in this test, to which a constitutional candidate can take exception? None. I assert, not one. Is the mode of taking it objectionable? Certainly not. For it is the mildest, and most gentle. We only require our candidates to sign it. Preserved in our county records, their signature shall be sufficient. *Litera scripta manet.* We will not press them to swear. We need not, with the elegant Otway, “violate their delicacy by so rude a bond.”

“ No, not an oath—according to Brutus, speaking through Shakespeare—

—— “ If that the fate of men—

“ The sufferance of our souls, the times abuse;

“ If these be motives weak--break off betimes.”

---But

---But I have exceeded my usual limits : and will therefore defer a few further thoughts as to the mode of the county's adoption of this, or any other test, till my next, which shall be my concluding letter.

A FREEHOLDER.

April 5th, 1776.

LETTER XII.

Our friends are dear to us ; our relations are dear ; dear are our families, our parents, and our children ; but all these affections, these tender charities, are comprehended in the superlative love we owe to our country ; for the advantage of which, what good man would hesitate to die ? CICERO.

BEFORE we proceed to the mode of publicly adopting a test, it may be necessary to premise a few words in explanation of
of

of some parts of that, which I took the liberty of proposing, not so much to your adoption as your consideration.—Pensions and places, in a constitutional light, are evils of great magnitude. For they attach a great interest to the crown, preponderating already, from other causes, against the weight of the commons. But some evils are necessary, in the political, as well as the natural, system. And we must learn to bear our constitution with its natural and necessary infirmities. Of this description are placemen in the House of Commons; without a certain number of whom, to open and explain the publick accounts, and to state the necessities of publick service, the business of the House must stagnate, and the necessary intercourse be interrupted between the executive and the legislative. Pensioners, on the other hand, have no business there. Those publick beggars of the state are at least as unqualified to sit in parliament, as the private beggars of the street. Let them then enjoy their alms, without the ambition or absurdity of being the legislators of the kingdom. But a certain

tain number of men, with the knowledge, and the reponsibility too, of office, are necessary to wise and effective legislation. In the test therefore, a limitation of placemen, not an exclusion, was stipulated; sanctified however by the controul of the constituents, as to the necessity and degree of that limitation, and the propriety of the representative ever becoming so.

Signature of the test was proposed, instead of an oath; as well from the great authority there cited, and a confidence that such an act would be sufficiently obligatory; as from a wish to disarm every possible objection to the measure, which some too scrupulous reasoners might advance. There is a sort of strained nicety, a prudery in conscience and religion, which objects to the use of oaths, unless particularly prescribed and authorized. If however any constituents think that sanction necessary, the candidate who shall adopt it must with them have additional merit.

To agree on the propriety of this great publick measure, and to establish it both in principle and form, the most publick consultation

sultation and concurrence are requisite. Publick meetings are held for this purpose; announced to the county by the sheriff, on the application of a sufficient number of freeholders. It then becomes his duty to convene them in the most convenient place. Our present worthy sheriff, it is supposed, would not hesitate in advancing any measure for the publick advantage; which a county-meeting, preparatory to an election, has been always considered to be; and is most respectably recommended to this country, by the uniform practice of all the free counties in England. But though a sheriff refuse his concurrence, the measure proceeds. Bodies of freeholders advertise; and call on their brother-electors to meet, to deliberate, to decide,—on the most important subject which can occur to them. A sheriff is called upon, only as the principal officer of the county; and the natural channel through which publick notice should be conveyed to them. But if that channel be stopped up, the publick desire will find a vent,—will make itself a way. And, I have heard, that in such cases its progress

is

is more impetuous and irresistible. Strengthened by opposition, the increasing stream of patriotism swells into a victorious torrent, and bears down or overflows every obstacle that endeavours to withstand it.

The necessity of this measure, its wisdom, a form in which it may be drawn up, and the method for its county adoption, have been submitted to you. It is yours to adopt that form, or a better one; and to pursue the most effectual method to give it publick sanction. The subject is of the deepest nature, and the most serious tendency. It requires all our attention to fathom it; and calls for all our spirit to do it justice. Let me conjure you, to lay it to your hearts with the cordiality it deserves.

I much apprehend that the detached appearance of these Letters, their interruption and imperfection, have rendered them very inadequate to the cause I have undertaken. Confident, however, in the goodness of that cause, and of the principle with which I undertook it, let me hope that the merit of both will plead for and supply the deficiency of the advocate. *Magna est veri-*

tas, et prævalebit. It will, it must prevail. Liberty shall triumph over her confederated enemies. The fallen haughtiness of humbled power, and the baseness of groveling corruption shall lick the dust together. Independence and publick virtue shall erect the standard of freedom high in this happy land: under her victorious banners, peace shall smile and industry shall flourish. Esteem, confidence, and affection, the free gifts of grateful liberty, shall wait upon our rulers; who shall be popular in proportion to their power; and shall find their firmest support, as it will be their chief happiness, to preside over an united and free people.

A FREEHOLDER.

April 9th, 1776.

DEMOCRATICUS.

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

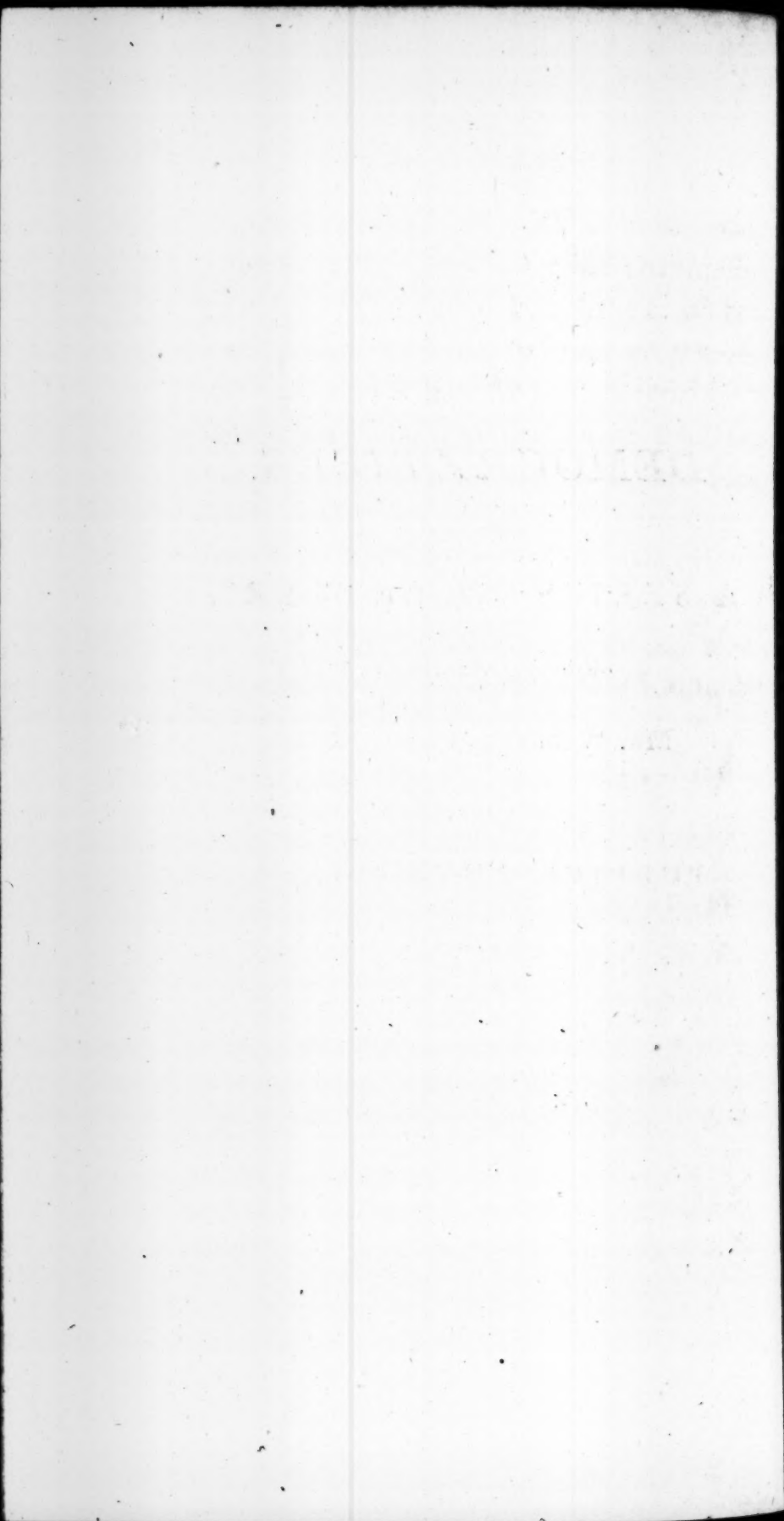
ORIGINALLY PRINTED IN

MR. WOODFALL'S Daily Paper,

THE

PUBLICK ADVERTISER,

In the Year 1779.



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DEMOCRATICUS.

For the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

“ **W**HERE is that God of Finance,”
exclaims our modest minister *, “ who shall
“ better support the credit of the country
“ than myself?”---“ Who will undertake for
“ all the supplies necessary in this exigent
“ moment, without great loss to the publick,
“ and the imposition of taxes onerous to
“ the people? When **HE** shall be found,
“ I will cheerfully retire from my station;
“ happy in my country’s prosperity from so
“ simple a measure as the dismissal of a
“ Chancellor of the Exchequer!” Let us

* Lord North.

examine

examine this rant. His Lordship declares he is ready to give place, not to any able financier that may be pointed out, (for then indeed his date of power were short) but to any who shall positively undertake immediate and easy relief of the publick necessities, imminent and ruinous as they are at the present disgraceful moment. But, the disgrace and the ruin of the present moment we owe to his Lordship, and his accomplices in office. This they may deny; for what will they not deny or assert? But their country challenges them to the proof. ---It is a truth demonstrable in argument. His Lordship has been ten years in power; in office, at least: for I am aware of the defence under which his friends would shelter him; and will admit to him every reasonable degree of insignificance, as to his honour, both as a minister and a man. But he has not been sufficiently contemptible to be safe. He has had power enough to ruin his country. All its resources have been at the command of administration. Never was government so strongly supported. The publick purse has been poured

into

into their coffers, almost without question or account. The publick sword was placed in their hand without controul, and sharpened at their pleasure; and the flag of England was committed to their care unstained. Monstrous majorities in parliament obeyed their mandates; and even the people, till their late bitter experience, were deluded and inflamed into a kind of concurrence in their violences. Such was the fulness of power entrusted to our ministers. What possible pretence, therefore, can they oppose to the inference, which I maintain is inevitable from the present state of things? The disgrace of our arms; the fall of our finance; the bankruptcy of commerce; loss of friends and accession of enemies; alienation of loyalty and confirmation of disaffection, to the utter dismemberment and imminent ruin of the empire; these are the positive facts of the present time, which press and overwhelm every man in the country who has not lost the use of reason and the affections of sense. What do the ministers answer? They cannot say we did it. No, my Lord. The hands of the publick,

publick, and especially of that part of it which you attempt to vilify for their determined opposition, are as guiltless of the sword which you plunge in the vitals of the country, as of the prostituted purse exhausted to pamper every department of the state. You, my Lord, and the exclusive partners of your gratifications, have the exclusive praise of all our present situation. And if ministers can yet be responsible to this sinking country, you and your associates have an exclusive title to publick vengeance.

How then stands the argument of this reasoning placeman? Exactly consistent with his financial calculations. The exposure of the latter, of his ignorance even in the value of annuities, of his confounded argument of gratifications and supplies, and of his hopes and guesses about the finance of France, can receive no addition either of acuteness or eloquence to those abilities which detected his miserable budget. But in his place, it seems, he will not resign, till some god shall arise, equal to the miraculous task of instantly restoring order, vigour

and

and happiness to the country which he and his friends have governed! However we may doubt the decency, no man can dispute the prudence of this argument; which, by making the tenure of his power equal to the weakness, if not wickedness, with which he has used it, would indeed establish his interest to him and his heirs for ever.

I humbly recommend to his Lordship to consider, that men now begin to feel; and therefore to think for themselves: that bombast so unplaussible can no longer deceive; but will justly cover with contempt and punishment, him who dares to use it. I would therefore submit to him, whether he ought not, in safety, to reverse his language, and speak truth. The following sample of it is at his service, which I would sincerely advise him to pronounce as the epilogue to his taxes this day.

“ Where is that demon of disappointment
“ and distress, who shall better ruin the
“ credit of the country than myself? Who
“ will with more confidence undertake for
“ all the supplies towards a war, wicked in
“ its principle, and impracticable in its
progress?

" progress? Or who, with less shame, will
 " fail in every undertaking, and violate
 " every promise ;---with greater loss to the
 " publick, or taxes more intolerable?---As
 " none such can be found, I will instantly
 " retire from my station ; too happy if my
 " country's lenity shall be content in so
 " simple a punishment as my dismissal from
 " all my offices."

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

DEMOCRATES.

March 1, 1779.

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

IT is hoped that the publick has paid
 due attention to the ingenious resources, as
 well as the ingenious logic of its minister.---

Indeed

Indeed it is almost impossible to separate them ; so congenially do they intermix and illustrate each other. When he reasons, his argument is founded on his taxes ; which his own measures have rendered at once necessary and impracticable : " therefore," says our treasury-logician, " I shall continue " in office." When he taxes, his reasoning repays his finance with abundant theory : and first he hopes ; then he promises ; and at last he asserts : This climax of confidence is peculiarly observable. For it is not, as may at first appear, an attempt at additional credit. He only takes in order to retain what he has, by preserving an aggregate proportion of influence. It becomes necessary, therefore, to grow strong in words, as he fails in fact. He thus repairs his deficiency of matter, by the force of assurance ; and secures the requisite parliamentary momentum to move at will the purse of the publick.

His late experiments have been wonderfully successful, if we consider the complication of machinery and novelty of situation that might naturally have disconcerted his
moving

moving powers. Acknowledged impotence was the ground they stood on; and former disappointment was present encouragement. --- Thus founded, he proceeded to hope for the future poverty of France, because she had now no debt; and for the future riches of England, because she had now no credit. His hopes then expanded to infinite practical benefits, from less than speculative pamphlets. He expatiated on the facility of obtaining much, because little could now be obtained: and on the wisdom, in effect, of a productive tax, which should destroy the productive principle. This hopeful minister then, inspired with the spirit of promise, engaged to relieve the sinking fund, by continuing its burthen; undertaking that the taxes, whose failure had overwhelmed it, should now produce, because experience proved them unproductive. He promised---but what did he *not* promise? Nothing is too arduous for his magnanimous imagination. He promised even the continuance of the war in America. He pledged his honourable perseverance in it, because he had studied its relinquishment through

through every disgrace to himself and his accomplices; and he vows vengeance on the rebels, because he had been a beggar *at the feet of America*, that *they* would forgive him. He urges war because he cannot wage it; and because the greatest total exertions of his country have been baffled;---he promises success from distracted efforts, and little battles; from operations of less extent, and struggles of wasted vigour. And he defends this monstrous mass of absurdity and calamity, by the offence of truth and honour; by libelling the most honoured names in the country; endeavouring to tear from the brow of valour and well-earned fame, its established laurel; fairly won in the same fields of glory that gave immortal crowns to Wolfe, to Saunders, and to Hawke; planted by Mr. Pitt, and gathered by those brave men, who are now traduced for not adding to their wreaths in the desert, where thorns and thistles only grow; who are devoted for the failure of impossible measures, and calumniated for the disappointment of counsels, which as no wisdom or justice had contributed to form, no valour

valour or conduct could avail to effectuate.

Self-defence, my Lord, may be the law of art, as it is of nature. We will not wonder, therefore, that you and your friends should strain every artifice to ruin the noblest honour, and the most approved virtue in the kingdom; because that virtue is too pure, and that honour too illustrious to mix with meanness, malice, and disgrace; because those honourable and injured men will not serve their country, while you preside at the treasury; while your assessor holds the department that *was* American and continues baleful intercourse with the ghosts of the departed colonies; and while the stain of office, that reproach and stigma of every thing decent in private life, or dignified in publick conduct, usurps the canopy of the British flag.

DEMOCRATICUS

March 5, 1779.

For the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

" IF the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, or
" the noble Lord at the head of the Admi-
" ralty, have dismantled the naval service
" of its best and bravest officers, they are
" traitors ;---more criminally traitorous to
" their country, than the wretch who at-
" tempts to fire your dock-yards !" Truth
is bold. The Right Honourable Colonel *
did not fear to urge home the charge. HE
did not disgrace his assertion with the sub-
terfuge of Shakespeare's clown. HE did
not whine out *that it all depended on an If* ;
nor falsify his words with an auxiliary *Almost*.
He maintained his hypothesis, and proved
the fact. What says the culprit in the blue
ribbon ? Guilty or not guilty ? Nothing ?
Mute,—absolutely mute ! But he speaks
by his counsel : who is also his witness, and
assures us " that his Lordship is the *most*

* Colonel Barrê.

popular

popular minister the country ever had!" We all know the tender ties that have attached this young gentleman and this noble Lord to a *common centre*. When weeping beauty fues, a Lord is but a man. And who will not admire the interchangeable delicacies of love and gratitude? This beautiful system was not, as Montesquieu says of the English constitution, found in the woods; but as Mr. St. J—— hopes will be completed there: and in the woods of America too; where indeed the completion of our constitution, rather than of Mr. St. J——'s hopes, is only to be looked for.

Did his Lordship reserve his defence for this day, when again perhaps the charge shall be urged and proved against him? or will he continue contumacious, at his peril? Even the *sound discretion* of Mr. Wedderburne will disgrace its definition, and will hesitate at the tyrannous and traitorous proscription of the best and bravest men from our service, though its nature was amply indulged in their groundless and malicious prosecution.

My

My Lord, the honour of the service, and involved in it the safety of the country, demand, and will every day more urgently demand, your answer or your punishment. Seriously, my Lord: for be assured your Barracle-jokes shall not suffice for the former, nor merely the dismissal of you and your Brother-barnacles for the latter. Did you, or did you not, with your accomplices in government, commit the honour of the British flag into an hazard, from which nothing could have redeemed it but the magnanimity of Mr. Keppel? Did you, or did you not, ever signify a sentiment from government on that important and most consequential transaction? which if meritorious, deserved the loudest praise; if blameable, the severest punishment. Did you, or did you not, send him again to sea, at last with a force almost equal to the French, entangled and endangered by your silence and malevolence? On his return, victorious in spite of treachery or malice, did you, or did you not, congratulate him? On his honest triumph, victorious over a groundless and malicious accusation, which had wickedly

wickedly aimed at his life and honour, did you, or did you not, join the general joy of your country? Or were you, and your compeers the exception of the age, the joint Thersites of the time, envious of his virtues, and sickening at his glory?

Of the wretched man whom the favour of government has conducted to his fate, even satire shall be silent. Perhaps not an object of pity: but no man is an object of cruelty.—But of the illustrious Admiral whose virtues are best rewarded by the applause of his country and mankind, have not you, and your abettors, been assiduous traducers?—in private scandals—in public libels? Under your sanction, in your pay, does not the press groan with calumny against him? The press, my Lord, is honest as well as free. It owes you much, and shall not remain in your debt.

DEMOCRATES.

March 22, 1779.

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

ON that memorable occasion, when Governor Johnstone was to atone for his vote against administration by his speech against Lord Howe, it cannot be wondered that the delicacy of situation should a little embarrass a man, whose characteristic is certainly not refinement or address. That such a man floundering between his conviction and his commission, should incur a little absurdity, will not create surprise. His awkward efforts at consistency have hitherto provoked no passion but pity.—They have attracted little notice, and less resentment. But when the Governor grows mischievous; when he contracts a league with ministers, offensive as well as defensive;—and not content with extolling the wisdom of their deliberations, and his own glorious successes

under their banner, proceeds to arraign the *best* characters in the country, charging the most eminent officers in the naval service with desertion of duty, and *growing too great for the state*; and indirectly imputing to one of them, deficiency of conduct or courage in his American command; he then deserves something less than compassion, and more than contempt.—The *gentleman* who insinuates against the honour or delicacy of another, deserves rebuke: the *captain* who depreciates the character and conduct of his superior officer, deserves chastisement; though the *commissioner* who rails at ministers, and then flatters them, who flatters “*the worthy characters*” in America, and then rails at them; who stigmatises the country which employs him, and his royal master whose commission he holds, for “*their conduct in the hour of their insolence*,” may perhaps deserve—his salary.

I stated in my former letter *a few* of the notorious facts which more than vindicate *Admiral Keppel* from Governor Johnstone's imputation; which demonstrate that injured officer, not only guiltless of *deserting the state*,

state, but eminently meritorious in his zeal to serve it; in actually having served it through all the dangers of administration, till confirmed injuries rendered his further service utterly impossible as a man of honour, spirit, or common-sense, under the present ministers.

If we consider *Lord Howe's* principles and conduct, it will appear at least equally extraordinary that such an imputation should be imagined against *him*. His political sentiments were well known; and the firmness, as well as the goodness of his understanding, is universally acknowledged. He never adopted nor deserted his opinions lightly. Possessed, however, of the steadiest disapprobation of some of the principles of some of our rulers, he did notwithstanding accept the command in America. This is a positive fact, directly in proof that merely a difference of political sentiments from the minister did not, could not, induce him to *desert the state*. It would be the grossest perversion of argument, to insinuate a contrary inference from this admitted fact, to argue, that because he actually engaged in the service of

of the state, he was virtually to desert it;—that because he disliked some of the opinions of the minister, he was to betray the whole trust of his country. If such were the fair inference, what will his advocates say for the minister himself, who has signalized a dislike of his own opinions by a proof which Lord Howe cannot give,—by a violation of the word of honour; solemnly pledged by this honourable minister to the country (and especially the country gentlemen) “that he would *never* depart from his opinions, nor *make concessions to America!*” Yet he has found his opinions so deserving of *dislike*, that he has departed from every one of them. The necessities of his folly have been so much stronger than the obligations of his honour, that he has sacrificed the latter to appease the former; and has been forced to supplicate every thing, where he was bound to concede nothing.

Lord Howe, no less than Admiral Kexpel, experienced from the first moment of his appointment the cold and discouraging neglect of administration. That dilatory distrust which marks the indecision of little minds,

minds; disappointed the hopes of the country, and of Lord Howe, in the effect of the commission to which he was named. The powers granted to him were imperfect, as he in vain remonstrated before he went out; and the delay was fatal, as every man, except the ministers, foresaw. Seven months had elapsed between the declared intention and the appointment of that commission. What could be expected by any reasonable man, but that the minister's prohibitory-bills, piracy-bills, "*starvation-bills*,"—(for barbarous epithets best suit barbarous measures)—should in the mean time have driven the Americans to independence.

Lord Howe did notwithstanding, for the possibility of serving his country in spite of her ministers, accept the commission and the command: and though the decentful delays of administration in granting the first, and their continued neglects and blunders in supporting the last, made it impossible to succeed effectually in either, his services in both have confirmed to him what he had before amply earned, the grateful voice of his country, and the impartial praise of history.

To

To those, who know the parties, the unceasing efforts of ministry to detract from his character, would be sufficient proof of its eminent merit, professionally or personally, from which they have not endeavoured to detract? They have slandered Sir Guy Carleton and Sir William Howe; they have persecuted General Burgoyne, and they have conspired against Admiral Keppel. Our oldest and best acknowledged officers, of veteran fame, have not escaped, because they interposed in the cause of honour. The sacred character of courts martial, and the unanimous honour of the British navy, have been assailed. In such a massacre of honourable character, it would be extraordinary indeed if Lord Howe were a favourite.

But hitherto the scandals of ministry have moved in a humbler sphere,—in paragraphs and whispers; not less mischievous, perhaps, circulated as they are with malicious industry, but certainly less *bold* than the avowal of Governor Johnstone.

From his avowed imputations, I shall in another letter select three ideas, and shall take

take the liberty of adding Lord Howe's short but decisive comments on them. With what has been already said, and what is universally admitted as to respective reputation, they will probably be satisfactory to the publick.

DEMOCRATES.

April 1, 1779.

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

BEFORE I proceed to observe upon the imputations and doctrines of Governor Johnstone, and the manner in which Lord Howe treated them, as I proposed in my last letter, it may not be improper to advert a little to the long and laborious speech which the Governor has thought proper to publish.

publish. The misrepresentation of Admiral Keppel's sentiments with which it begins, is a clue to the intention of the whole. The Admiral is there made to give his sanction to the conduct of ministers,—“that in his
“ opinion they had done every thing in
“ their power to assist Lord Howe; and
“ that they had not force sufficient to send
“ a fleet to the Mediterranean.” Directly contrary to fact, and the Admiral's declared opinion, is the first assertion; and grossly fallacious is the second, as deduced from the former: for it would thence be inferred, that having done every thing for Lord Howe, they *therefore* had not force sufficient for the Mediterranean. Now, what was the fact? They *had done nothing* for Lord Howe, and they *could do nothing* for the Mediterranean. And what was Admiral Keppel's opinion, demonstrated in the House of Commons? Not as the Governor would echo to the misrepresentation of ministers, that they had done every thing in their power, and therefore that they were innocent as to subsequent insufficiency of force; but, that their original neglect and ignorance
throughout

throughout had left them finally deficient, even in defence of the kingdom:—Not that *they had assisted* Lord Howe, but that his Lordship's own incomparable conduct, "*for the glory of which he would gladly have exchanged all the actions of his life,*" had supported himself throughout the most dangerous circumstances of inferiority to the enemy to which ministers had devoted him, and had saved the fleet and army in America.

So much for that misrepresentation, which one would hardly have expected to see formally in print, detected and exposed as it had been in the debate.

Some other points of less importance occur in the printed speech of the Governor, which those who heard Lord Howe's reply will wonder to see restrained, being not immediately necessary to the cause of administration. The insinuation, for instance, in terms as liberal as the idea, that Lord Howe had *some share* in the publication of the pamphlet relative to the transactions of the fleet, might have been spared (it is a little softened) in the printed speech; as it would have been better not repeated, and urged with

with some argument about an allusion to instructions contained in it, in the Governor's reply and debate. The *manner* in which Lord Howe observed upon it, might have convinced his sensibility, if not his candour. His Lordship had declared upon his honour he knew nothing of the pamphlet till it was sent to him, in a cover, to his house in the country;—nor had at the moment he was speaking, any certain knowledge of the author:—That as to the propriety, the decency, of imputing to him *any share* of a pamphlet, “loading him,” as the gentleman chose to express it, “with the most fulsome flattery,” he would leave such insinuations to the gentleman to reconcile *to his own ideas of liberality*.

The other more important imputations, which however feebly urged, were aimed at all his character, professional, personal, or political, his Lordship repelled with a force and dignity of conviction, not easily imagined by those who had not seen such a man in such a situation. Besides the many collateral facts of “the quantity of provisions in Philadelphia,” of “six months subsistence

sistence for the troops by driving Long-Island, &c." which the Governor chose to assert, ("as he had been informed,")—in contradiction to the positive state of things, and the imminent danger, as Lord Howe had stated, *from actual knowledge*, of the army and fleet being starved and destroyed!—The governor proceeded to his grand argument to prove Lord Howe's fleet superior to Count D'Estaing's. The object of this argument, evidently to vindicate administration, by derogating from Lord Howe, deserved the kind of proof that he advanced to effect it. He worked the ships of the line and his frigates, as a school-boy works his pounds, shillings, and pence; adding and subtracting, and drawing up a line of figures instead of a line of battle.—An intention so illiberal, and proofs so ridiculous, would hardly have demanded serious refutation, if they had not been accompanied by an imposing parade of professional minuteness;—for the Governor has been a Captain in the service.

Lord Howe was astonished, that any man who had ever seen or heard of the service, should

should advance such strange and ignorant imaginations. "He understood, indeed," he went on to say, "that the gentleman had "*quitted the profession for some time*;—but "that a man who had ever been in it, "should have so totally lost all ideas of it, "as to talk of *piecing out a line of battle* "with frigates!—against a great heavy line "of the enemy of much superior ships!—"He did not know what term to give to "such argument."—"The gentleman had "talked of fifty and sixty-gun ships being "equal to seventy-fours!—and that a small "ship, supported by a frigate, could beat a "large ship!—"Possibly," his Lordship admitted, "in a single engagement:—and "possibly, also, a smaller ship might singly "engage a much larger one with success, by "the superior gallantry of commander and "men;—but to transfer this reasoning, uncertain even in the case of single ships, to "a general engagement in a great line of "battle!—No man could argue so who "knew what a line of battle was; for that "in such a case, the frigates probably could "not act at all; and the smaller vessels "
"certainly

“ certainly with encreased disadvantage,
“ against the combined and greatly-multi-
“ plied force of the superior line.”—Every
one who has seen or heard Lord Howe, must
have observed with admiration the peculiar
modesty and delicacy which characterise
the genuine soldier. Coriolanus wished
“ Rather to have his wounds to heal again,
—than hear how he got them.” Whenever
professional subjects occur, Lord Howe
avoids every possible mention of himself;
or if the debate require it, he speaks on
that subject with a diffidence and modesty,
equalled only by the applause and triumph
with which his country crowns it.—No-
thing, therefore, can more strongly mark
his fullness of conviction on this occasion,
mixed with some just indignation, than the
just personality which was extorted from
him.—“ I feel myself professionally called
“ upon ;—but I should not mention my
“ rank in the service, nor allude to any
“ little abilities or experience I may possess
“ in it, if I could not support my opinion
“ by argument, and appeal for its undenia-
“ ble certainty to every seaman who knows
“ what

“ what service is.—I can, therefore, assure
“ the gentleman, that *Admiral Howe* will
“ not apply to *Captain Johnstone* to instruct
“ him in the elements of his profession.”

But we must now leave the *Captain* to attend the *Commissioner*. For in his political capacity he proceeded to the imputation, which has already been pretty amply refuted, both as to *Admiral Keppel* and *Lord Howe*, of their “growing too great for the state.”—His Lordship assured the house, with a zeal well consistent with a whole life of the bravest and most honourable patriotism, “That no man felt more ardour to serve his country than he did;—but he begged, that as men of consideration and honour, they would weigh the circumstances of the case he should suppose to them. If an officer who accepts a command, in America suppose, is thwarted, disappointed, and deceived in that command by the minister for the American department:—If an officer, who is appointed to a naval command, meets with nothing but neglects and injuries from the admiralty;—if the
“ first

" first Lord of that department sets all his
" power against all the credit and character
" of that officer.---I can prove what I sup-
" pose,---and will go into the proof when-
" ever the house pleases."---What is an offi-
cer so circumstanced to do? *Can he serve*
his country under such ministers? Can any
man hesitate to answer? Will any man, for
a moment, endure the injurious imputation
that such officers *grow too great for the state*
---instead of the true and melancholy fact,
that the state is grown too corrupt and
wicked for the possibility of being served,
under the present mal-administration, by
men of character and honour.

DEMOCRATES.

April 3, 1779.

TO THE
PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

THOUGH Lord North omitted on last Thursday his expected renewal of attack on the committee of inquiry, the public are not to conclude that he has abandoned a measure so decent and respectful to parliament, and so incumbent on himself as parliament minister. On the contrary, those who best know him, and his parliamentary *system*, are assured that he will on Tuesday object to the continuance of the inquiry, *because* on the preceding Thursday he had acquiesced in its beginning, and himself taken part in it. But besides this systematical reason, other urgent motives occur to stimulate the feelings of his Lordship. The evidence already in possession of this *irregular committee* is of the most dangerous tendency; and contrary to all order and cus-

tom

tom of parliament it has been entertained, though it criminales ministers. It cannot be imagined that the house will endure such unparliamentary proceedings. It was improper enough to vindicate the character of Sir W. Howe; for from the demonstration of his meritorious conduct of the war, as far as depended on him either for plan or execution, an alternative of some danger might arise against those, whose counsels he was called upon to execute, with the means they should be pleased to supply.—But, without waiting for this deduction of censure, which possibly might be evaded, or at least delayed,—the detection all at once of the absurdity and ignorance of our great statesman will be, as Lord Nugent solemnly declares and “vows to God,”—*a prodigious inconvenience to them*. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that this unseemly proceeding, which has already produced sufficient sport, ought now to be checked. Mr. Rigby himself begins to confess that *the joke may be carried too far*; and the clamour even of the Lord Advocate seems to subside into the *silent discretion* of Mr. Wedderburne.

Some management, however, will be necessary in changing the ground with safety; and for this important consideration it may be adviseable to change the commander. It certainly is not reasonable always to put Lord North in the van on such active service. Though he has succeeded wonderfully hitherto in *shifting his position*, and in his late famous retreat covered his rear so powerfully, that even Mr. Burke's rangers could scarcely assail him; his evolutions have been so frequently repeated, they can no longer deceive. But if a certain noble Lord will accept the command, we may indeed expect some masterly manœuvres in the service proposed:—An honour that seems to devolve on him, from the gallantry with which he has already taken the field:—For we can hardly doubt that the zeal with which he has already *charged* the enemy will be at least as conspicuous, in acting on such honourable motives to *decline the charge*. To ensure the brilliancy of the day, his Lordship should be careful in the appointment of his officers. Mr. De Grey certainly deserves an advanced post---*in the retreat*; from the
retrograde

retrograde skill he exhibited in his skirmish with Lord Cornwallis, at Brooklyn:---Generals Pownall and Sutton shall "turn the flank," and "get into the rear of the lines," ---provided always "*that they do not extend to the water,*"---and "that they have room to lower the breeches---of the cannon:---And last and least, Colonel Onslow will take special care, "if the rain does not blow in his face," to save from its fury the powder and provisions.

Previously, however, to this retiring conquest of his Lordship, turning, as his friend Governor Johnstone said of the ministers, (before he was a commissioner) his "*victorious back upon the foe*;---as I confess myself an enemy to the ministerial mode of warfare, I wish to warn the people of the country where it is carried on, that if they exert their force, with spirit, to maintain the important advantages they have gained, they may and will subdue their trembling enemy. The advantages are these: It is in *official proof before the public*, that ministers rejected all the information, and refused all the requisitions, of the commander in chief,

as

as to the necessary force for carrying on the war---relying themselves, and deceiving parliament with that reliance, on guesses without knowledge, and intelligence without truth. In consequence of such reliance and such deception, it is in professional and undoubted *proof*, at the bar of the House of Commons, that they have not *now*, nor *ever* had, a force in America *capable of subduing it*;---that is, "They have expended forty
 " millions of money,---they have sacrificed
 " forty thousand lives,---they have ruined
 " the trade and the naval resources of
 " England,---they have degraded their country from her station in the world, enslaving
 " her to the fear of France and the love of
 " Spain,---they have lost thirteen provinces
 " and three millions of people, IN ATTEMPTING AN IMPOSSIBILITY."

DEMOCRATES.

May 8, 1779.

For

For the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

ON the 12th of last January, a letter with the signature *Lucius*, addressed to Sir W. Howe, appeared in the Publick Advertiser. --On the 3d of the present June, *Agricola* appears in the same paper, addressing himself also to Sir W. Howe, with the same confidence of assertion, in the same inflated style, and in precisely the same degree as his Caledonian predecessor, merciless both to Sir William and the publick; for he also writes four columns, and expects they shall be read; full of the same falsehoods and the same illiberal language.

Whether such circumstance of sameness be sufficient to identify the writer of both these compositions, or whether the similar bitterness of the streams may not be traced to the same fountain-head through different channels, will appear not unworthy the reader's consideration, when he recollects the original principle of the parliamentary inquiry.

inquiry. Personal propriety of conduct, as to arraigning or defending personal character, became a real object of publick attention, when from its relation to publick men it produced effects so important to the state. Parliament did accordingly, in despite of the power that usually controuls it, admit Sir William Howe's claim to a publick vindication of his character. It is not extraordinary that the vindication of truth should produce much collateral advantage to the publick, and much mischief to ministers. Such has certainly been the effect of the present inquiry; and it cannot be wondered at, perhaps it is excusable on principles of self-defence, that men endangered by the discovery of truth and the vindication of honour, should now resort for protection to calumny and falsehood. But it was not perhaps quite so justifiable to have *commenced* hostilities against their general with these offensive measures; unless they be justified on the amicable ground of modesty and sagacity. They were modest enough to be conscious of their folly; and sufficiently wise to foresee its misfortunes. A
species

species of prudence congenial to such characters, early suggested to them the necessity of precautionary malice. They endeavoured, therefore, while they enjoyed the present fruits of their crime, to alienate their reverence of the punishment; and to secure a retreat for their own infamy in the ruin of others reputation.

But the interests of our ministers and of the publick being directly opposite, this calumnious system so safe to them, is exactly in the same proportion dangerous to the country.---Being, therefore, of the utmost publick importance, let the publick survey it at length. It is the more worthy their contemplation, as it is indeed the only plan of the present administration, which seems to have been attended with any success.

In every great and publick question, we must refer to the fatal æra of these times. The date of the American war is the date of every publick mischief. Besides the notorious and incurable calamities it has entailed on the country, this pestilent spirit of calumny which has infected and almost poisoned the national vigour, seems to have
issued

issued from the same source. In other wars, and under other counsels, the counsellor and the commander of the publick force shared its misfortune, or sympathised in its success. The head and the hand united in one great purpose; and valour effected what wisdom planned and confidence conducted. If disasters disappointed, or necessary difficulties thwarted the service, they were justly estimated by an honourable minister and a generous people. General Wolfe's almost desperate distress and *choice of difficulties*, were felt and acknowledged at home with the same magnanimity of candour that afterwards bore ample testimony to the glory of his conduct; a conduct which he was the more incited to pursue, from confidence in the guardian of his fame, from sympathy with the magnanimous statesman who then presided in the counsels of the state.—In the present war, under the present counsels, what is the lot of every man who attempts the publick service?—Of those very men whose fame had flourished, whose merit had been ratified, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, and in the glories of
their

their country?—Their character, rooted in the confidence of the people, calls them in to publick command in spite of the people's enemy and theirs: and then are seen and felt the monstrous effects of such a monster in politicks, as an unpopular administration in a popular government. They encounter the distrust and discountenance of the ministers in proportion to the confidence and favour they enjoy from the people. On the same scale, the malice of office rises from treachery to violence, till at last all the art and power of the governors is openly exercised against the best servants of government. The hardiest and most veteran reputations can scarcely withstand the calumnies of the cabinet. The most valued and honoured lives of the time, that have been often hazarded against the foreign enemy, are assailed by the domestick foes of their country. Failure of success is charged to the men whose valour and conduct would have succeeded, if success had been possible under such counsels; and the charge is supported by every invention that malice and guilt can dictate. The glory which our commanders

commanders have snatched from the midst of the difficulties and dangers which such counsels had involved them in, is sullied by the ministers and their minions, who would belye it into disgrace.—When Lord Howe with a much inferior force to the enemy opposed and foiled them, and by a series of conduct and abilities that added even to his character, saved the army and the hopes of the state, he is censured in parliament by *Governor Johnstone*. When Admiral Keppel, by an effort of courage signal even in him, saved the dominion of the sea to England, by correcting the blunders of administration; and when on return to port, having at last acquired an equal force, he defeated the enemy; *Lord Mulgrave* and *Lord Sandwich* deny the praise of his return, and the fact of his victory: and under their instant sanction, *their friend, Sir Hugh Palliser*, institutes five capital charges against him.

It is disgustful to decency, and shocking to honour, to dwell upon such instances. To enumerate all that might be adduced, would be to transcribe the whole life and conversation of our ministers, and all their followers,

followers, for the last four years. Lord Chat-
ham resented such baseness with an indigna-
tion suitable to the sympathy of honour that
wounded his mind.—“But *ministers censure*
General Gage for his inactivity!—Let them
censure him. It becomes their justice and
their honour. My Lords, it is a prudent and
a necessary inaction :---but it is a miserable
situation, where disgrace is prudence, and
where it is necessary to be contemptible.”
—Such indeed is the misery of situation to
which every man devotes himself, who un-
dertakes publick trust under such ministers.
If they left the persons they employ,
merely to struggle with the difficulties inci-
dent to the employment which their folly
creates, the danger were then almost suffi-
cient to deter any man who had the anti-
quated ambition of a Decius or a Curtius.
But when,---I beg leave to repeat it, for it
is the crying sin of the times,---when every
species of private and publick calumny is
used by ministers against all those whom they
employ, because they do not approve ab-
surd measures, or execute impossible ones,---
it would be romantick beyond Roman ex-
ample

ample to devote life and honour in such cause.---*Decorum pro patriâ mori*; but love of country can never supersede love of honour: and the most rigid devotee to patriotism would hardly submit to be sacrificed at the shrine of Nemesis by the hands of Thersites.

So much for the *personality against character*, which Lucius and Agricola, and all their tribe, exhibit by order of ministers. It is of little moment to the publick what they are, if they be aware *what* they are. Publick indignation will probably be equally strong, whether they be one and the same or whether, instead of another postscript to *Sir John Dalrymple's* state papers, Agricola be traced to the venomous den of *Calypso*.--
 "Qui bævium non odit, amet tua carmina mœvi."

DEMOCRATES

June 9, 1779.

A few of the gross misrepresentations, and assertions contrary to fact, with which those papers abound, shall be exposed in another letter.

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

EVIDENCE of Sir W. Howe's conduct of the American war being now before the publick, as well as evidence of the counsels at home approving it from first to last, and ratifying the whole with the sanction "of his Majesty's strongest approbation;" it would be impertinent to transcribe the facts and proof which every reader will find there; and it would be equally absurd and unfair to solicit his judgment to any other conclusion than what they must produce. Let them be fairly considered and canvassed. Let no man pronounce without having read them; and let him not read without due attention, as well to the intrinsic force of the testimony, as to the credibility or competency of the witnesses. And in the latter considerations, let him recollect that every circumstance

circumstance of themselves and their situation is involved;---their rank, their character, their particular departments of office and of service; their professional skill to form general judgment, and their personal opportunities to acquire actual knowledge; and above all, their particular circumstance as to any interest whatever that might warp testimony,---either in having received any recent boon, or actually receiving and expecting the continuance of any benefit, from any of the persons by whom they are called to give evidence.---Let all the merits of things and persons be exactly examined;---and the parties who solicited and gained the inquiry, in contempt of every subterfuge and artifice of their adversary, cannot fear the final concurrence of the justice of their country with the honourable sanction they originally received, derived to them from the *fountain of honour* itself; however the stream may have been since polluted.

But justice is imperfect, if only innocence be acquitted, or merit rewarded. The sword has its function as well as the balance; and guilt must be punished. Not, however, in
this

this instance; according to the old, and, in general, the just rule,---“*Arte perire suâ.*” These artifices of disgrace are superior to retaliation. No more can be feared from infamy, where dishonour has already buried her sting. But other punishments, and to some minds more sensible punishments than disgrace, await the publick delinquent :---Punishments which the resentment of the people must soon inflict on the authors of their calamities.

The prime author, for he will not consent to be called *the prime minister*, of his country's ruin, I hope will permit me now and then to communicate to him some of the causes of that resentment, towards preparing his mind for its certain consequences. This I shall do with the freedom of a man who loves the people, and does not fear the minister, even though his power were permanent. But his Lordship knows that enemies need not fear *him* whom friends despise.

DEMOCRATES.

July 7, 1779.

VOL. I.

L

For

For the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

To the PRIME MINISTER.

MY LORD,

PERMIT an attentive admirer to offer you his congratulations on the event which has at last occurred, the favourite object of your indolence and your sensibility,--your dismissal from daily labour and daily disgrace. You know, my Lord, that I mean the prorogation of parliament; for you feel that I describe it truly.---But you are surprised that the people, or a friend of the people, should congratulate you on any success of any wish of yours!--We are a generous enemy, my Lord, and will expound to you this perilous ænigma; of which, like Œdipus, you are yourself the theme and the conditioned victim. Your most dangerous foe, and therefore the object of publick congratulation, is Lord North. It is with him,

him, my Lord, that the people of England conspire against the minister. It is in his wish that your avowed opponents concur; because they know his disposition fatal to your power: and they rejoice to consign you solely to his disposal.

While parliament continued to sit, you attended to some duty in spite of yourself. "*The MACE inexorable and the torturing hour---called you to penance.*" The constant debate returned, and you rolled to it, and through it, with the blind mechanism of a man that walks in his sleep, and the pain that he feels on being awakened.---When parliament is prorogued, what shall save you from the precipice? Your lethargy returns and prevails. You do nothing; and you suffer every thing.

If any doubt could remain on the fate of such a minister left to himself, the history of your militia will remove it. Let us gratefully recollect the political justice of that scene, in which you so successfully plotted your own tragi-comic catastrophe. It is almost too ludicrous to be gravely treated; and yet it may be too serious in

its consequence, for ridicule or contempt. It is impossible not to laugh at FALSTAFF, buffeted by his own friends, and outwitted in his own knavery; but indignation checks our mirth, when we remember that the fat man has misled the prince, and pillaged the exchequer.

When the Spaniard had denounced the war which you had not even dreamed of, but which every man in the use of his senses did certainly foresee,---in the imminence of invasion to which you and your accomplices have betrayed our coasts,---the desperate distress of the publick suspended for a moment all inference of experience; and the publick defence, the care of our existence as a country, was unanimously confided to you. Then stood forth the prime minister of England, in all his impotence. You had not a single idea,---not one resource in yourself. In the humbleness of your own phrase, and of your own spirit, my Lord, you *picked up the crumbs* from the eloquence of your adversary. You caught a cursory hint of the possible propriety of doubling the militia. Without inquiry or precau-

tion

tion towards giving strength or possibility of effect, you fell upon it at once as your sole support; and you crushed it to the ground. And how have you defended your failure? As ungratefully, as meanly, my Lord; you justify your impolicy by your plagiarism. "Mr. Fox proposed *something like it!*" Yes, my Lord; and so did the Duke of Richmond, in another assembly, which you think it decent to rail at.---You forgot to add to your exculpation, that they would have conducted their proposition in a manner *something unlike* that, in which you neglected and squandered yours. Some vigour and activity, at least, would have been found in their exertions. But I do not recollect that even Mr. Wedderburne celebrated those qualities in you.---The most callous of your friends, who have longest known you and your subterfuges, were painfully astonished at this. That a first minister of England should defend himself on the disappointment of a great publick measure, "because a gentleman adverse to him *had proposed something like it!*"---But enough of such littlenesses.

What

What is the situation of the kingdom according to *your* argument, and in consequence of *your* conduct?---That measure of doubling the militia, for the vain agitation of which, you protracted the sitting of parliament a fortnight beyond the time you had argued and decided by your majority to be necessary for it to rise in;---that measure which you urged as absolutely essential to publick safety;---*that measure*, is now totally rejected! *The time* which you stated to be indispensably critical and precious, you totally lost! And the kingdom, according to your first argument and your last express confession, extorted from you by Sir George Young, when you pronounced your funeral oration on your departed militia,---I appeal to the memory and astonishment of every man that heard you,---"*is left without any defence that can be relied on!*"

Such has been the success, such is the safety, which the prime minister's unembarrassed wisdom and uncontrouled power have established for the publick.---But on that obsolete subject of the publick interest I have digressed too long. I return, my Lord

to the only consideration that can keep you awake. Let us examine what you have gained *for yourself* by this indulgence from your enemies;---how you have conciliated them by the skill, or confirmed your friends by the magnanimity of your conduct.

In that awful hour when your country was to be informed through you of the accession of Spain to the war, which under her present counsels she has scarcely sustained against America and France; in that perilous moment when every man, not callous for his country, deeply felt what you could truly describe, "When," in your own words, "we were so burthened, so loaded, so embarrassed with difficulties and intricacies,---*such as we have never before known* *!"---How did your feelings correspond with your understanding? Or "what was the consistent decency of your conduct?" Were you impressed with the magnitude of the publick danger? Did you enter on its grave discussion?---Did you

* Lord North, *verbatim*, in debate on his militia-bill.

prepare

prepare for firm defence against it, as if you knew that your country was in the forlorn hope? No, my Lord. You chose that happy opportunity to indulge your mirth. You laughed at the representatives of the people; while you convinced them they were the dupes of their own credulity, and victims of the ignorance or the treachery of their rulers.

It is not my present purpose to inquire into Nero's enjoyment of the ruin he had spread. Roman story better tells us, how good men felt for the calamities which they would have prevented and could not survive. The stoic was melted in the patriot; and CATO wept for his country. The tears of your hysteric, my Lord, were reserved for another subject.---But I ask pardon. Any allusion to that subject escaped me. I did not mean,---I hope no man can be so base,---to ridicule the fond weakness of a father who has lost his child: but every man, my Lord, will resent the insulting swagger of a minister who has ruined his country.

Your feelings of the publick calamity were well succeeded by your care of the public

publick defence. You confess, you argue, in parliament, as prime minister of the country, that the publick danger is such *as we had* never before known! You introduce a plan which you state on the moment, (never having thought of it before) to be essential to publick safety. Many men judge differently, as is natural, on a new subject. Alterations are suggested. You think they may be very proper; for you know nothing of the matter. Further changes are proposed. They are also very proper,---and for the same reason. When the annihilation of the whole measure is recommended, "*You have no objection, if gentlemen think it necessary.*" At last, after declaring and denying your opinion four times in four hours, you have the just mortification of seeing your first idea resumed, and sent up to the Lords to disgrace you. For there the subject was understood; and it appeared lately that you are not wholly unknown to their Lordships. The eloquence of LORD SHELBURNE has left you on record. The silence of the whole house consented to the sentence. And you cannot wonder,

wonder, my Lord, that not a voice was heard against it. The nobles there, however differing in some political sentiments, retain a common sense of their dignity, and the spirit of their situation. But every spark of spirit, of dignity, and honour, must revolt from the meanness that submits to all the odium of office, without any of its authority or effect.

In times of rebellion, it was in common observation, that the traitor was hated, though the treason was loved. You, my Lord, perhaps stand acquitted from crimes so exalted. But levelling the argument to your official situation, it may be prudent to consider that the tools of power are first despised, and at last thrown aside, by those who have employed them. Recollect, my Lord, and feel if you can, the real relation in which you stand to a great connection of power, *under* which you have been prime minister. The degree of respect that you receive from the dignity of the Lord President, cannot now be ambiguous even to your insensibility. Lord Weymouth tells the secret every evening. Mr. Rigby enters

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tains the House of Commons with it; and no wonder that he thinks it an excellent joke; for he gets both the laugh and the vote on his side. But indeed, my Lord, your personal estimation seems alike in all. I do not speak of the rabble without doors, who speak only as they feel,—the *coffee-house mobs*, as your Lordship calls them in just retaliation;—I appeal to every man who sees the statue on the pedestal. The higher the ground you attempt to take in parliament, the less dimension of power you exhibit; and if the business be arduous indeed, you are elevated into nothing.

From numberless instances of insignificance, and of danger, consequently, in which you stand when left to your own weakness, I have selected the defeat of your militia, and your confessed impotence of every national resource, because it is the most instant in its consequence. I would warn you, in sober sincerity, of your imminent peril. You have not quite benumbed the country. The people of England have feeling, my Lord, though they have not foresight. The hour of trial, perhaps of ruin, is at hand.

The

The legions of France, which are at this moment arrayed on their coasts in greater force than the channel ever saw,—when the united navies of France and Spain shall swoop at ours, dismantled of its best strength,—when all the war shall pour into this country,—and all its miseries deface and desolate it,—then, my Lord, how shall you appease the late-roused spirit of the people? Thus, I imagine, you will soothe them, and save yourself. “ I was prime minister of the “ British empire. I had no information of “ the publick danger. I would not listen to “ those who had certain knowledge of it. “ When it burst upon the country, I laughed “ at it. The people, however, were almost as “ infatuated as myself; for they unani- “ mously confided the care of the state to “ me.—I took no care; I prepared no “ publick defence. I borrowed *something* “ *like* a hint from others, of what appears “ to be a constitutional defence for the “ country; and therefore, perhaps it wither- “ ed in my hands. I consulted no man “ who could instruct me in it, towards “ giving it life or effect; and in indolence “ and

and ignorance it became nothing. A most critical period of time; part of which I had refused to publick justice, and publick honour; to the injured characters of our highest commanders; whom, therefore, I have banished from the commonwealth in the hour of her danger:—that time I employed in preventing the possibility of any measure being taken for the publick safety.—And, in fine, as you see, and feel, my countrymen,—and as I honestly confessed to some country-gentlemen who had a strange anxiety on the subject,—*I, your prime minister, left the kingdom without any defence that could be relied on.*”

DEMOCRATES.

July 20, 1779.

THE WHIG.

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ADDRESSED

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

[Published in Mr. ALMON's Morning Paper, *The London
Courant*, in the Months of November and December
1779, and in the Months of January and March 1780.]

DIY ANT

SEAL OF THE

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

THE WHIG.

(No. 1.)

" I will call on my country loudly and constantly."

LORD CHATHAM.

I Trust that neither my name nor principles are obsolete; though I am aware that the name is not in such respect, nor the principles *yet* so active, as at the period of the Revolution. But if I did not feel myself warranted, in the hope that I address a powerful body of my countrymen, when I call on my brethren of *The Good Old Cause*, I would not waste my labour on a desperate theme, nor profane the doctrine of liberty, by discussing it to unanimous slaves.

Whiggism we have seen triumphant in America. Whiggism we see preparing her triumph

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M

triumph

triumph in Ireland. Let us hope, let us prove, that her sacred flame is not extinct in England.

If a slave of power shrink from the mention of The Good Old Cause, or, in the callous impudence of servitude, presume to vilify it, I pity his wretchedness, I despise his insolence; but I would punish his treason to the constitution.

The Good Old Cause is the cause of the People. Simple and obvious is this consideration; *that the cause of the People is successful exactly in proportion to the energy of their original power.* Such energy, acting through the classes of the constitution which the People made, preserves their liberty as a People, and their power as a Nation; for it watches integrity, and provides ability, in the persons they permit to administer their affairs. Various and intricate, on the contrary, are the means conducive to *their* cause, ambition, avarice, or sloth, would enslave, impoverish, or lose their country. Rectitude has only one direction, but the obliquity of treachery is infinite.

The

The direction in which the people of this country act, when they act rightly, is, through the parliament which they have elected, to the throne which they have raised. If wickedness or weakness be found in the counsels or counsellors of the crown, parliament is the instrument appointed to punish, or to dismiss; but if the instrument fail, the land will exert her native strength. The people, of original right as a free people, will vindicate the country, correct their parliament, and reform their throne. I know this was not the law of Jeffries, I know it is not the law of modern Westminster; but I know it is the right reason of the constitution. I would not violate the manes of the Revolution, by quoting Locke against Lord Mansfield, even if it were a question of argument; but human authority or reasoning, however illustrious or forcible, were superfluous to demonstrate what God hath written in our hearts.

Publick guilt being capable of such diversification, it is evidently the duty of publick virtue to exercise various attention to the several assaults that may be made by power,

and will be ever made in some degree, against the interests of the community. Innumerable are the modes in which hypocrisy may deceive, tyranny oppress, corruption debauch, or folly squander; any one of which crimes, unchecked, would run to general ruin. But if, in monstrous and unheard-of conspiracy, they should all unite against the liberty and glory of a country, throughout all the betrayed trusts of the publick; active indeed ought to be the exertion of the people against such danger. The Whig spirit, existing in the country, must collect and cooperate. If compressed in small compass, its spring will be the stronger. The publick traitor may insult fallen Liberty with the reproach that all her spirit is extinguished; that no publick virtue remains; that every man is base and wicked as himself; but the reproach will operate as it ought. It will give vigour to strength, and activity to resentment. It will sharpen publick spirit, and point the virtue of the patriot with the honour of the man.

Vigilance should be in proportion to danger. If we have been remiss, and if
publick

publick danger have, in consequence, increased, let us now double our watch, and redeem our negligence.

In England every man is a politician.— This maxim hath incurred ridicule, only from the imperfection of its observance. It is exactly constitutional, and strictly true in theory; but it becomes ridiculous, because it is only theoretical. It ought to be demonstrated in practice; and then it would not be answered with a laugh. “The British Constitution,” Lord Bolingbroke well says, “is the *business* of every Briton.”

The British Constitution hath changed its form, and is losing its spirit. Some magick has metamorphosed the ancient pyramid into the deformity of a Chinese pagoda. The beautiful strength of its order is gone; and we now tremble for the narrowed base; oppressed by the middle; with monsters at the top!

How to recal the spirit that hath fled, and how to raise that which remains; how to restore external stability; and by what best means to purify into its ancient vigour the interior of the constitution, is the *business* which

which now demands the active vigilance of all—for the danger is universal and imminent.

As a member of the publick body, I offer to my country all my exertion towards the publick weal, in the humble but laborious office which I undertake. It is humble; for it professes little more than the representation of fact. It will be laborious; for the endeavour will be to represent the mischiefs of the times.

It is not easy to select from multiplicity; but in guarding against dangers, *foreign* and *domestick*, the conduct of their Representatives in Parliament seems to challenge the first and instant attention of the people: for it is the malignity of this enormous mischief, like scepticism in religion, that it fights the forms against the substance. Faith is above reason; and the people are paramount to their servants: but the infidel blasphemes in very regular syllogisms; and the Minister betrays his country exactly according to order, and with perfect preservation of every form of parliament. Of this, the publick shall have damning proof;—irrefragable proof;

proof;—undeniable—except by Lord North,
—for it shall be the proof of FACT.

Nov. 1779.

(No. 2.)

Silſcet res ipſa aſpera eſt; ſed vos non timetis eam.

*Immo vere maxime; ſed inertiâ et mollitiâ animi,
alius alium expectantes, cunctamini, videlicet diis
immortalibus confiſi, qui hanc rempublicam in
maximis ſæpe periculis ſervavere.*

THE laſt Thursday exhibited a ſpectacle which might exerciſe the moſt curious ſpeculation, if its extraordinary miſchief did not demand ſomething more. Let my countrymen briefly contemplate the fact and its circumſtance. If they will not open their eyes, and ſee its monſtrous nature, they muſt inſtantly feel its ruinous conſequence.

A cer-

A certain set of persons have, for many years, been entrusted with the administration of publick affairs ; and certain principles of government have been pursued by the prince, and permitted by the people. During this system of men and measures, the publick weal has suffered gradual, but universal decay. Civil discords were kindled in the empire, which the ministers of the state had neither wisdom to reconcile, nor vigour to subdue. Foreign wars threatened. The ministers of the state neither prevented them by precaution, nor prepared any adequate strength of their country to encounter them. Invited by folly, indolence, and weakness, the enemies of Great-Britain united against her with the countries she had lost in her civil dissensions. The ministers of state had provided no alliance for their country ; to compensate the loss of her ancient strength. Thus Great-Britain alone was involved in war against the most powerful monarchies of Europe, and the Independent States of America. A general campaign ensued, in which, though she escaped from immediate ruin by signal interpositions of

of Providence, she suffered fatal losses and indelible disgrace. Some of her most valuable islands were taken; the finest armies she had ever raised, at the largest expence she had ever sustained, were wasted on impossible service; and her fleet was saved only by flight into her own harbours. The internal mischiefs that daily grew under the ministers of the state, were correspondent to the external calamities. Ireland was famished, and in arms; Scotland was pampered into insolence and tumult; and England teemed with desperate discontent. When the ministers of state had conducted publick affairs to this situation, they called on Parliament to congratulate the King on the blessings of his reign, and to recognise the wisdom and success of *their* administration—and Parliament complied!

I submitted to my countrymen, in my last paper, that the conduct of their representatives challenges their instant animadversion. When two hundred and thirty-three men are found to assert, in Parliament, what no man out of it will gravely maintain in common conversation; it will be mockery of the people

people any longer to denominate such a body the representative of the nation; it will be baseness in the people any longer to endure such a body, without effectual animadversion and thorough reformation. If any one man, in possession of his senses, can be selected from the community; if one of the two hundred and thirty-three, any where but within the walls of his prison; if even the obsequious *commis* who reads this paper to the nodding Prime Minister, will declare, without a blush or a smile, that he thinks him or his associates in power adequate to the trust of the state; I will join in their praise. If such a man can be found, another miracle will follow—The Whig shall concur in the praise of the present ministers, and the people may consent to rejoice in their administration.

It is fit that the people should survey, again and again, this unheard-of abuse in government, since the bloodiest æra that blots the page of history. *If* such be the decided contrariety of sentiment between two hundred and thirty-three legislators of England, and every individual of the country; and *if* the
body,

body, so opposed to the whole people, persist in delegating the whole trust of the state to weak or wicked men, convicted by the evidence of sense of having exhausted the best strength and wealth of the country, and urged by mad despair to tear wider her wounds, even to the last drop of her blood,—let the historian of fallen empires distinguish if he can. Where is the difference in calamitous effect between the Triumvirate of Rome, and a majority of a H**** of C*****?—There is yet a particular difference between them, he may answer truly, as much to be lamented as their general resemblance. Two of the Roman tyrants paid the debt of their tyranny. But modern times have not yet enforced the demands of humanity; and the *inertia* of the people seems indifferent to an Octavius or an Augustus.

Besides the palpable evidence of all the facts of the time, which demanded the vengeance of parliament against the authors, the express confession of guilt from the arch-culprit will demonstrate, in a curious point of view, the justice of the tribunal that acquitted and applauded him. *Lord North*
pleaded

pleaded guilty to the present state and future danger of Ireland. I wish to point the attention of my countrymen to this astonishing instance of ministerial effrontery, and parliamentary acquiescence. The Prime Minister of the State said, on the first day of the present session, "That he did not know the origin of the distress of Ireland; and that he could not apply a remedy to an unknown disorder." This eventful subject is to be *talked of* towards being entered on, and papers are to be read this day towards its being taken into consideration. Let us recollect the fact, and judge of the Prime Minister. Ireland has been groaning under ruinous distresses since the commencement of the war between Ministers and America. The suppression of her only export-manufacture severely wounded her little industry, and almost ruined her few manufacturers. A wicked embargo completed her beggary and famine, which soon grew universal and intolerable. Such was the opportunity of circumstance in which the Prime Minister thought it wise to insult a high-spirited people; to deceive them with words,

words, and to incense them with new actual injuries. Such was the concurrence of motives on which he thought it safe to leave the kingdom of Ireland without defence against an invading enemy.

The people of Ireland were exasperated by their wrongs from the English Minister, which they mistakenly attributed to the English Nation:—they unanimously associate against English manufactures:—they unanimously disclaim English law:—*the people assume to themselves the prerogative power of the sword, of which the Prime Minister had divested the King*:—and near fifty thousand men are now in actual and perfect array throughout a country smarting with the keenest sense of injury;—a country unanimous even to the bench of their empty Treasury, that nothing short of a FREE TRADE, to and from all parts of the world, and subject to no restraint but the pleasure of their own parliament, can redress their wrongs, or relieve their distress.

And now, years after their distress grew ruinous, the Prime Minister tells the British Parliament, "*he knows nothing of its origin,*
and

and can apply no remedy."—And the British Parliament (shall we longer call it the British Parliament?) rejoice in the blessings of his Majesty's reign, and applaud the wisdom of his Majesty's Counsels and Counsellors!

The writer of this paper has too strong a cause of knowledge *that the friendship of Ireland is desperate to this country*, if the present Counsels and Counsellors of the Crown shall be longer permitted by the people. He subjoins what * he has selected from their uniform addresses to their Repre-

* "We are therefore confident that if a **FREE TRADE**,
 " the only expedient left to avert the impending ruin of
 " this country, depended on the goodness and wisdom of the
 " King and the Parliament of Ireland, that event would
 " immediately take place. But however unconstitutional
 " ally the present restraints on our trade were originally
 " imposed, and however well inclined his Majesty to
 " abolish them, we fear he cannot effect this wise purpose
 " without the consent of the British Parliament; a body to
 " whose *power* we are no strangers, but with whose *justice*
 " we are totally unacquainted; and we likewise fear that
 " the consent of the British Parliament depends on the
 " humour of the *British Minister*,—a character yet unknown
 " to the confidence or gratitude of this country."

[Extract from "Unanimous Address, &c. of the county
 of the town of Carrickfergus, to their Representatives."
 Nov. 4, 1779.]

sentatives

representatives, as expressive of the determined spirit of them all.

November 30, 1779.

(No. 3.)

The King can do no Wrong.

WHEN a Prince of the House of Hanover wears the Crown of Great-Britain, the WHIG is not ashamed to confess his prejudice. He would presume, from the former Princes and principles of that House, to the present; and his predilection is anxious to believe, in the full extent of the maxim, personal as well as political, *that the King can do no wrong.*

But when a monarch in this country, sprung from whatever line, adorned with whatever hopes from the glories of his ancestry, or his own original virtues, persists

in counsels that do grievous wrong, and threaten instant ruin; affection is lost in duty. Duty to the country demands discussion of a maxim, which, if the construction of the Court were permitted, would sanctify every publick crime, and establish publick calamity. Duty to the Prince, as part of the constitution formed by the people, enjoins constitutional explanation to him of a phrase, which flattery has rendered fatal to tyrants.

When it is truly said that the King can do no wrong, the office is intended, and not the person; and this true construction is the perfect praise of our admirable constitution. The King of England can do no wrong; for it is not the office of the King *to do* any thing. The cautious wisdom of our policy will not permit the King to act. It not only supposes, but requires that ability shall be selected from the people to execute the active duties of the state. Even in the selection of such active ability for publick service, the King, as we are now considering him, cannot do wrong. For the consideration supposes him in his constitutional publick character;

character; a character conferred on him conditionally by the people. It is impossible, therefore, in constitutional contemplation, that a *King of England* should appoint incapable or unworthy men to administer publick affairs; or, if appointed, that the *People of England* should permit them to be retained; that a free people should sacrifice their original rights and constitutive power to such abuse of the kingly office. The unfairness of arguing from such abuse is evident. The kingly office, so abused, would no longer belong to the constitution. It is a monstrous case, and out of the supposition of fair reasoning.

Such being the genuine sense of the maxim, the corollary observation that is formed upon it appears equally just and necessary; that the ministers of executive power are responsible to the people: and their responsibility was formerly through the medium of parliament.

The office of King being thus considered, I trust with due respect; for I think it receives the highest, when defined as part of the constitution; it remains to remind the

person appointed to that office, that he is a man;—that in his personal capacity he may, he must *do wrong*; for error is essential to humanity. It remains to demonstrate to him, that whoever confounds his person with his office, is a fatal enemy to both; for that they are so perfectly distinct in their nature, attributes, and interests, that the abuse of the one, is expiable only by the punishment of the other. The constitution will not admit that *the King* did wrong; and the law says, that *the King* never dies: but *Charles Stuart* was an obstinate tyrant; and *Charles Stuart* lost his head.

No more then let a maxim founded in the very bottom of constitutional liberty, be forced to a construction which would shake and endanger it. No longer let the law of the constitution, which would preserve sacred the office of the King, be perverted to the destruction of the man.

Another tenet of court-craft, new in the politicks of this country, is not less dangerous to its professors than the perversion of the royal maxim that has been considered. As

Kings

Kings believed they could not individually do wrong, Ministers now flatter themselves that *majorities in parliament can make wrong right*; and from them they hope, not only their own exculpation, but perfect establishment of their arbitrary system.

It will not be difficult to demonstrate the folly, as well as the wickedness, of such a principle; and to prove, to the utter despair of arbitrary men, that the seeds of *revolution* have been more immediately sown, and with more certainty of instant growth and effect, by the Ministers of the present King, than by any instruments of tyranny in former times.

The position which I maintain, and shall prove, in contradiction to their parliamentary confidence, is this; *that majorities in parliament are certainly ruinous to the Sovereign and his Ministers, in proportion to the support they are induced to give them, in persisting against the sense of the people.*

I shall, in my next paper, consider the fact, as it has occurred in America and Ireland; and then, if *our* Whig-spirit be not extinct, and if similar causes produce

similar effects, *let the executive power tremble in Great-Britain.*

December, 1779.

(No. 4.)

This glorious spirit of WHIGGISM, animates millions in America, who prefer poverty with liberty to gilded chains and sordid affluence; and will die in defence of their rights as men,—as freemen,—What shall resist this spirit?—Ireland they have to a man.

Jan. 20, 1775.

LORD CHATHAM.

HOWEVER congenial his mind to the spirit triumphant in a neighbouring kingdom, emulous of the glories as she was participant in the injuries of the western empire, grievous yet is the pang which every lover of his country feels in this degraded island. For the triumph of Liberty is now the disgrace of

of England. America is victorious and free. Ireland, without the trouble of victory, enjoys all its consequence and glory. She displays the banner of independence; her armies appear; and England surrenders at discretion.

England, the arbitress of empire,—England, the dispenser of the power and guardian of the rights of nations;—England, the wonder and terror of the world—what art thou now! Disabled, dishonoured, fallen; desperate of assistance from friends, for you have none; or of success against enemies, for you failed when you were stronger, against adversaries less numerous or powerful:—too little for consideration in a scale of the balance which you once held and adjusted; and remembered only in the ridicule of Europe; vanquished by your Colonies, to whom you sued in vain for mercy; and subdued even by the aspect of Ireland, to her absolute command.

Love of our country cannot be extinguished in the hearts of Englishmen; and care of what we love compels us to save it from utter destruction. Though the
sense

sense of glory were dead throughout the people; yet, if the common and first principles of nature, self-defence and self-preservation, be not extinct among us, the period of revolution and revenge is at hand. The publick sense was dull to the distant mischief; but present calamity strikes strongly and suddenly. — Three months nursed the American lie; but the Minister cannot falsify Ireland. Three days detect him, and demonstrate the glories of that country, and the disgrace of this; her independence, and our submission. We feel her torn from our side, and we bleed at every vein.

Such feeling is too poignant for patience. It rouses to action every remaining nerve of our strength, to rescue from instant loss the little that is left; to preserve domestic security, though we have thrown away empire; to entrust the sacred relic to hearts that know its value, and hands that can defend it; and, above all, piously to perform the rites of the constitution; appeasing, by exemplary justice, the indignant manes of our power and our glory.

But

But in this necessary course of national justice, much difficulty is to be encountered from the generous prejudices of Englishmen. In favour of Ministers? No man will imagine it, in a reign, which has rendered synonymous the odium of the country and the favour of the crown. The fate of such favourites as have never before stained the annals of any reign in any country, will be unparalleled in history. Unqualified by any sentiment of respect for talents, admiration of magnanimity, or pity of any one virtue, the publick execration that spares them not in their power, will overwhelm them in their fall;—the contempt that pursues them now, will inspire peculiar indignation then, that such usurpers of power should have been enabled and permitted so to fall;—with the blind despair, but without the strength of the strong man, so to drag into ruin the mighty fabrick of the British empire.

But difficulties of an high and delicate nature will arise in effecting the revolution of our liberties. They have arisen elsewhere; but the necessity of the commonwealth has surmounted them. Founded, however,

however, in the generosities of ancient attachment, I know they are found in the heart of every Englishman.

Eighteen years of tory-rule cannot have entirely detached the Whigs of England from the House of Hanover. The memory of an illustrious ancestry, and gratitude to their virtues, must qualify resentment of present wrongs, with an affectionate kind of sorrow; and sorrow, in generous minds, soon grows to pity. Crimes then are lost in misfortunes; or, if remembered, we wish to reclaim rather than to punish. Or even if obstinacy be irreclaimable, we have still some hope in the future, from our knowledge of the past. A dishonoured reign may pass away in our annals, like a cloudy day in summer; and if the day be not too long, nor the tempest too violent, the glories of the succeeding morning may answer our hopes, and renew our happiness.

But to tranquilise, if possible, the present scene, by reconciling our affection to a particular family, with our duty to the country, let us endeavour to win attention before we force it. Let us convince by reason rather than

than by power; and try to prevent the mischief by the example of others, rather than correct it by our own.

It was proposed in my last paper to consider the fact of disunion from this country, as it has occurred in America and Ireland, in demonstration of the maxim that I there advanced against the parliamentary confidence of arbitrary men. From the fatal example of those countries, I undertook to prove, *that majorities in parliament are ruinous to the Sovereign and his Ministers, in proportion to the support they are induced to give them against the sense of the people.*

In America the people were unanimous against certain powers claimed by their late king, and attempted to be exercised by his ministers: but the monarch persisted against his people; and has lost his American throne. So far the fact stands undisputed. Now let us consider whether the ministers and their majorities in parliament have not affected the ruin of his royalty, while they flattered his ambition, and seemed to support his power.

It

It is beyond any common calculation of obstinacy, that the American war would have been persisted in, if the monarch had not been infatuated by those monstrous majorities which his ministers, by every monstrous means, procured in parliament. I say by every monstrous means: for besides the court-corruption that prevails in all cases, new and unheard-of wickedness prevailed in this. Falsification of fact was not indeed new in the minister; but in the magnitude of this instance, it took peculiar criminality. Suppression of every truth, universal fraud, and basest misrepresentation, blinded the reason of men; while every seductive and inflammatory art perverted and poisoned their passions. Without such impulse, no monarch, however blind or obstinate, would have persisted in such a war; without such support, he could not have drawn the sword from year to year against his people.

But even if such had been the situation; if without the fiction of parliamentary sanction, the royal standard had been erected
against

against the liberties of America, he could not have lost his American Crown more absolutely than he has by act of parliament. I believe he would not have lost it so certainly. America would have conquered the King, and more speedily perhaps than she conquered the King and Parliament; but her magnanimity might have forgotten the idle ambition of a foolish Prince; though she will never forgive, in prudence or in spirit, the formal tyranny of a grave Legislature.

My reader may have been surprized and shocked, when I asserted the fact of Ireland being now disunited from this country; because he may have listened to the tales of Ministers, and the impudent inventions of their advocates. But I assert again and again, that Ireland is at this moment in an actual state of disunion from us; disunion of commerce, disunion of finance, disunion of military strength, and disunion of national affection. Such is the fact; and therefore I expect to hear the Minister assure Parliament of the contrary.

If

If Parliament continue any faith in the wisdom or truth of the man, whose folly and fallacies misled them to cast America from us, the present disunion of Ireland, which their marked servility to him at the close of last session has already produced, and their preposterous support of him at the beginning of this, has already strongly confirmed, will be ratified for ever. I state the fact of their resentment, without now going into the discussion of their wrongs: but their resentment is expressly and pointedly against the British Parliament. They exhaust all their eloquence against it in their debates; and when they want terms to express its tyranny, its avarice, its insensibility to every thing honourable or just, they say that the British Parliament and the British Minister are synonymous.

December 1779.

(No.

(No. 5.)

Incidit in Scyllam.

I Desire to rectify some misrepresentation which may have arisen on my state of the present situation of Ireland, in my last paper, both as to the nature of the fact, and the view with which it was there advanced.

When I asserted that Ireland was actually disunited from this country, in commerce, establishment, and in affection; I did not state a disunion so unfortunate with any triumph, or wish to confirm it. It was to prevent the continuance of a situation so fatal to us, that the fact was pointed out as it existed. While I admired the rising glories of that country, I described truly the rapid fall of this; not for the purpose of odious and disgraceful comparison; not to insult England with her misfortunes; but to rouse her from ruin by the demonstration of herself and Ireland. Seeing and feeling the

the disgrace in which we are entangled, the victorious example of popular spirit in Ireland ought to be no mean additional incentive to us. The people there have exerted their original energy, to effect a revolution which nothing but the omnipotence of an unanimous people could produce. They have recovered commerce and liberty; and, in contempt of the little forms and ceremonies of constitution, perverted and abused as they had been against the publick weal, they have established an invincible force to maintain their recovered rights.

As to the nature of the disunion actually existing in the respects that have been mentioned, it is our happiness to know that it is a forced and monstrous situation; compelled into its present existence by temporary causes alone, which the breath of the people can sweep away for ever; and redeeming the justice and honour of our national character, cement on an enlarged basis the connected strength of Great-Britain and Ireland.

To those who have not long had the misfortune of seeing and hearing the Minister,

ster, especially in the proposal of conciliatory plans, it would appear extraordinary that his first step towards the adjustment of a dispute, should be not only a studious misrepresentation of its principle, but an absolute falsification of the manner in which that principle is professed and maintained. Pretending to open the door of conciliation, he lays a stumbling block at the threshold. He said, "that Ireland *petitioned for a favour*;" and lest the misrepresentation should fail of effect, he repeated and enforced it. "It is *not a demand*, (continued his Lordship) of any constitutional *right* ;—they petition, *humbly* and dutifully petition, as a favour from this country, the extension of their trade." To a whole people, unanimous in the sentiment that what they wish for *is their right*, their right by nature, recognized by the law of their country, and founded in their constitution; it would not seem the reconciling language of policy to say that they have no just claim whatever; and that every thing they obtain, will be merely through charity and favour. But to an united people,

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zealous

zealous in active support of their sentiments, associated, to a man, in every strong measure that the most determined spirit can suggest, glowing with emulous patriotism that kindles throughout the country;—to a people arrayed in their own arms,—it is the language of madness to impute the passiveness of petition,—the humbleness of beggary.

Utterly ignorant, as the Prime Minister professed himself, of the most important question that the narrowed limits of our empire will now admit, silence, on a subject so delicate as the *rights* of kingdoms, was doubly his duty. For though he were master of the theory, and could enforce the fact, it were surely an unwise discussion, and a dangerous exercise of power; beyond comparison more dangerous towards Ireland, than it could at first appear towards America. I do not unnecessarily enter into the question of comparative strength at the respective periods. The impotence of this reduced country is notorious; and it were loss of argument to go into a proof of our imbecility to any *offensive* purpose, when

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the Prime Minister, within these two days, has told the Island of Jamaica, "he cannot promise any *defensive force for that station*, knowing it, as he says, to be the most important, and *wishing*, most unimportantly, that he was able to secure it;" and when the presiding Lord of the Admiralty insults the planters and merchants that apply to him, with their folly in supposing that he could protect them.

I speak of the established principle of every man in Ireland, *the principle of independence on the Parliament of this country*. I know that the same principle was imputed to America; but it was falsely imputed. The ingenuity of Lord Mansfield failed to give it semblance; and the Chief Justice was detected in the forged record he produced to prove it. But in Ireland the fact is certain and universal, and therefore the Minister studiously contradicts it. He determines the distress of his country by inflexible perseverance against truth, whether he asserts or denies. He would assert, that the American principle was independence on the British Parliament, while all America

remonstrated the contrary;—and he has lost America.—He denies that Ireland has any such principle, when every man in Ireland is ready to draw his sword in defence of it.

It might be hoped that no man could be found so obstinately senseless as to persevere in a system so impossible,—to support the supremacy of his parliament, when he has thrown away the power of his country. Such *bruta fulmina* are become ridiculous in Europe.

As to the substance of the proposed concessions to Ireland; I am ready to acknowledge what must have been expected by every one who knew the Minister. It is not surprising that the man, who, after binding himself, by the obligation of honour, never to concede any thing to America, supplicated her the next year to accept every thing, no cession should now make large and substantial compensation to Ireland, because he had, last year, in person prevented her slightest satisfaction. It is for Parliament to contemplate the dilemma to which this Minister has reduced them. If they concur with his present proposition, they determine that the great and extensive benefit of

the greatest trade these countries know, is not too much for Ireland, when the decision is scarcely dry in their statute-book, that the impossible growth of a noxious weed was favour enough for that country. If they reject the present proposition, Ireland will reject them for ever: not their power and supremacy; for parliamentary dignity is no more, and let Parliament remember the authors of its destruction: but every connection and tie of alliance will dissolve between the countries.

I have spoken of the Minister's *proposition*, for only one is worthy consideration or anxiety. His *glass* he confessed was a trifle; and his *rum and sugar*, he proved, were less, anticipating the true objection, that the very high proposed duties, on the direct trade of those articles to Ireland, would burthen them more than the disadvantages of their present circuitous course to that kingdom. "But then," says this conferrer of *favours*, "it will be optional to the people of Ireland to accept this new mode, or retain the old one." That is, he makes a very generous offer of an injury,

and the people are additionally obliged to him for graciously giving them leave to refuse it.

But the consideration that I have stated, as paramount in the determined spirit of Ireland, renders this third proposition worse than trifling or uncommercial. The question of state is assumed in it; and such assumption, retained, will for ever damn all negotiation. He proposes an enacting proviso in a British statute, to prescribe the duties to be imposed by an Irish parliament. The second-hand farce of giving them the form of registering what a British parliament has dictated, implies a contempt of their understanding, that probably will not tend to allay their spirit.

It is necessary, for the welfare, the peace, the existence of the country, that the parliament and the people should see where they are, what they are doing, and with whom they are treating. The Minister has no merit in his proposed concession. It stigmatizes *him* more basely, if possible, than all his administration have been able to do; but among the people a liberal spirit has gone

gone forth ; they will not act from the baseness of fear, but let them entertain this great question with prudence, moderation, and dignity. If it be possible, in the present fatal crisis, to decide it with due impartiality, with perfect and cool justice to the claims of Ireland, and the interests of England—where shall the vengeance of the people fall?—On the heads of those guilty men who have disarmed the state of its power—who have corrupted the functions of parliament—WHO HAVE BETRAYED THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

December 13, 1779.

(No. 6.)

*To the Right Honourable EDWARD Lord
Baron THURLOW, and Lord High Chan-
cellor of England.*

Magnum virum facile dixeris; BONUM libenter.

I Have acknowledged your rank, my Lord, and your high titles, with the pleasure that every liberal mind feels in doing justice to an eminent character. Every man is ready to confess that they have been earned by abilities as superior, as the independence and honour ought to be, which alone can dignify their nature, or justify their tenure. But there, my Lord, on that cardinal point the publick judgment has been long suspended. If I add, that the scale is now rapidly descending against you, and that the wonder of your talents avails only to give weight and acceleration to the censure of your conduct, your Lordship will confess the justice of your country, when you recol-

lect yourself, and look round on the men whose cause you condescend to plead.

One of that publick who delighted in admiring, and who now exercise with pain their right of judging you, I yet offer myself to your Lordship as your friend. And though the friendship of honest reproof be in general equally thankless and fruitless, I rely on the manliness of your mind for its publick effect in this instance, and even for your Lordship's gratitude.

Before our correspondence proceeds, let me clear its way to your understanding and your approbation.

This letter is written, and unless rendered unnecessary, more shall be addressed to your Lordship, not as a publick man who influences publick affairs, but as the Dictator of the State who decides them; I do not say immediately in council, but certainly in effect. Your Lordship already understands me, and so will the people, before our correspondence closes. In the mean time, I state myself to your Lordship, and my country, not alone justified, but impelled to represent you to yourself, and explain you to the

the publick, in all your present power, and all its fatal consequence ; impelled, by what your own nervous eloquence too consciously describes, “ the abundant danger and exigence of the time.”

I do not argue unfairly with your Lordship, when I assume the fact of our misgovernment for the last ten years. *I know* the contempt with which the superiority of your mind has looked down on the wretchedness of the administration.

I admire the emphatic zeal for your own dignity with which you have ever disclaimed all fellowship, even personal acquaintance,* with the Prime Minister. And it was in these sentiments that I hoped, and the publick expected, my Lord, you would have disdained all continuance of publick connec-

* Lord Thurlow has taken many opportunities of vindicating himself on this subject. “ I have no habits with the Minister”—“ I do not know Lord North,”—are his expressions (*verbatim*) on those occasions. But, in a more publick scene, his determined silence on Lord North's *character*, is still more decisive. He cannot, indeed, rescue him from the eloquence of Lord Shelburne ; but it is the very malice of contempt to leave him to the praises of Lord Hillsborough and the Duke of Chandos.

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tion with him. A man of spirit, it was concluded that you would not devote yourself for ever to pusillanimity and dishonour; a man of activity and vigour, it was deemed impossible that you should be rivetted to indolence and lethargy, and that the only exertion of your great talents should be in defence of ignorance and insensibility, which they had attempted in vain to inform and animate.

Such, my Lord, was the persuasion of a people, who were willing to confide at least in your magnanimity: and even yet it is hoped, that you will not thwart your nature, because it happens to concur with your duty;—that the natural exertion of your character will not be weakened, from the consideration that it would save your country.

It is not my present purpose, my Lord, to write the history of Mr. Thurlow; for my object is purely publick. Totally, therefore, rejecting every *private* anecdote, let us contemplate your present publick capacity. If turning the telescope for a moment, I descry, through the distant and diminished

diminished retrospect, an accidental advocate at a country quarter sessions, it is only to prepare my mind with due wonder for the contrast of your present magnitude. If I recollect the first fortuitous step to the house of Queensbury, it is to admire—sincerely, sir, to admire,—the strides of your genius, mounting now above the house of Bedford. The inferiorities of the portrait are beneath the publick interest and the publick eye. *Ex CAPITE Herculem.*

At the opening of this session, the general state of the kingdom, and the empire, became, as usual, the subject of parliamentary consideration. The particular topicks, since selected for especial discussion, have been the conduct of our ministers, with respect to the kingdom of Ireland, and their management in regard to the publick finance.

In all these great considerations and discussions, you have stood forth the only champion of the present ministers. For of their own defences, I would in decency say nothing. Besides their being the culprits, and disentitled to any credit in their assertion,

tion, its meanness were sufficient to disgust us, and condemn them. Accuse them of publick crime, of the danger of our islands, or the loss of our territory; they declare with the most ridiculous solemnity, that it is not the fault of *those who conduct publick affairs as they are*, but of *those who labour to make them otherwise*. For their own part, they call God to witness, *they know nothing of the matter* *. Demonstrate their publick speculation;—they deprecate justice in the same spirit of the Old Bailey; in the very language, indeed, of a profligate convict:—*We have robbed the publick; but we have squandered the spoil;—don't punish us, for we shall not be able to maintain our families* †.

I ask pardon from my reader for descending to such misery; rendered worthy of publick notice, only from your singular support. No Nobleman, except your

* Lord North (*verbatim*) on the state of Ireland, and the Jamaica papers; and Lord Stormont on every subject; especially the *American* question, "For he was ambassador at Paris."

† Lord Hillsborough (*verbatim*) in the House of Lords.

Lordship,

Lordship, has stooped to it; no Englishman, except yourself, has so insulted his country. Even in the House of Commons, none but Scotch lawyers were found hardy enough on that day to insult this kingdom. And even they, with all the servility of their country, and venality of their profession (Mr. Adam, indeed, is but a young practitioner) were forced to confess "the *sluggishness* of Lord North." They did not post from Scotland to applaud the Minister, whose irresolution has renewed rebellion in their kirk, and whose continued power will add depopulation and famine to their country. No, my Lord, they are too discreet. They crossed the Tweed, according to the distinction suggested by their countryman, and pretty steadily adopted since, not to defend *ministers*, but support *government*.—And the doctrine is now established in practice, by an immediate proficient from Lord Mansfield's school;—*that the only mode of supporting Government is to slander the People*; to demonstrate that we have neither virtue, talents, nor spirit among us; that we ought, therefore, to endure defeat and disgrace, as our necessary lot, and hew our

wood and draw our water, without repining.

The exclusive infamy of such auxiliaries were itself sufficient to drag down the dignity of any character.—Firmer fame even than yours, if it risked such ruin, could not escape it. When the Lord High Chancellor of England descends from his presiding seat in the assembly of the nobles, to mix with impudent mercenaries in a cause which every man of honour shrinks from, he forfeits every reputation, and his glory will set more rapidly than it rose. *Descent and fall*, which, with the spirits of Milton, we thought *adverse*, at least to the magnanimity of his character, will grow natural, necessary, and instant, to its abasement. He sinks for ever.

January, 1780.

(No.

(No. 7.)

*Alas, from what high hope, to what relapse
Unlook'd for, are we fall'n !*

THE facts which have long tended and now combine to give perfection to the arbitrary influence of the crown, may be distinguished into two classes: the *ancient opportunities of abuse of government*, unremoved by an imperfect revolution; and, *the modern inventions of power*. It ought not to be wondered at, that the former, which escaped the wreck of James's tyranny, survived safe and forgotten through the glorious and happy reigns that followed. But it is as much to be lamented, as it is sensibly felt, that dormant as they seem to have been in the reign of popular princes, they were in fact acquiring size and strength, sufficient to arm the hand of modern power with instruments more dangerous to liberty, than the coarser times of James or Charles had furnished.

furnished. Those opportunities, and temptations to despotism, seemed to have attained their full maturity at the commencement of the present reign. The septennial act of suicide, abhorrent certainly from the popular nature of parliament, and destructive of its due independence on the crown, had been long perpetrated. Military power and civil influence united to enable the Prince, if he were so disposed by nature or education, to oppress and corrupt the people, whose property and power was lessened exactly in the proportion that the crown had gained weight and force, by the establishment of a standing army, and a national debt. But, above all, the time of his ascension to the throne was full of such peculiar circumstances of popularity, as gave him unlimited, because unsuspected, power. Into that auspicious moment was crowded all the promise of his youth; founded in the fond memory of all the virtues of his ancestors; of his youth, rising, as it seemed, to renew the race of glory that they had run, even up to the recent goal of universal conquest. Nature and fortune conspired to
give

give the young Monarch of that day an empire the best and most permanent that Monarchs can enjoy, if they wish to maintain it,—an absolute power in the hearts of his subjects.

Such was the power and the opportunity of exercising it, with which his present Majesty ascended the throne. If it had been the counsel of his reign to improve it into the perfect and reciprocal happiness of himself and his people, the way was not steep nor difficult. The virtues of his royal grandfather, the talents of Mr. Pitt, and the genius of England, called into action by them, had surmounted the difficulties of war and faction, and corruption; and nothing remained for a prince that wished an honourable and happy reign, but to pursue the path that his ancestor had trod, with new facility and ascertained success.

But if other counsels were introduced, and other objects proposed than the mutual interests of prince and people, different then must have been the means to attain those different ends. Then, instead of cultivating the salutary fruits of wise and happy government.

vernment, the old weeds of tyranny would be carefully cherished and disseminated, till a new harvest should arise, adapted to the season, and to the tastes of men, less loathsome, but more poisonous and fatal. The unextirpated abuses of former times, mellowed now by age, would be refined into a new and more subtil spirit. Then would appear, in superaddition to the ancient opportunities of misgovernment, unremoved by the old Revolution, *the modern inventions of power*, to be removed and annihilated only by a new one.

I will not say that the counsels early inculcated into the mind of the young Prince, and the young King, were other than doctrines of the purest liberty; for I never heard the constitutional lectures which Lord Bute delivered in the closet. But every Englishman will assert what he feels, while freedom of speech and sense of feeling remain to him; that whatsoever those principles were, the effect of them has been extension of royal influence, and violation of popular rights: and every man of common sense will conclude in argument, that

as falsehood cannot flow from truth, so the political effect that has been stated as generally felt, cannot be the result of the most perfect constitutional principles.

The distinguishing characteristic of the present reign seems to be the new spirit in which the members of administration must severally live, move, and have their being. Formerly, Administration was a body actuated by one spirit that pervaded the whole; its members were distinct, not separate: the particular function of each was enforced by the corresponding authority of all; and the general object was compassed by consent of parts, giving the additional effort, as nature and reason dictate, of united force. Now, our mangled government is in a perpetual state of sefveralty and difunion; and, like the Polypus, each wretched part crawls about without power, name, or significance.

But weakness alone were not a sufficient qualification for a modern minister. He must be actively contemptible, if he expect honour at court. So constant encouragement is extended, and always a ready audience

ence to all the little slander of office against office; to the whisper of the Treasury against the American department, or to the lye of the Admiralty against them both. Occasions are studiously contrived to bend and subdue the spirits of men; and those are advanced the highest in the service, who have best learned the discipline of disgrace. There should be little wonder, that commanders in such a service are sought for from the ranks.

Virtue, we are told by an admired authority, is the principle of government in republicks; and honour in a monarchy. In a government, therefore, supposed to unite, and almost to identify the properties of both; where the power of the monarch is the consent of the people; and popular concurrence is regal strength; we might hope for the combined principle of honourable virtue. But if, in fact directly contrary, we find a principle that counterplots and counterworks the best and noblest affections of humanity, and would annihilate all moral duty and natural connection; a principle that severs friend from friend, and seduces brother from brother;

that hugs, and betrays, and destroys; that drives honour to despair, and leaves no alternative to virtue, but infamy or suicide; it will not be a very unlogical or uncharitable conclusion to infer, that such a government is neither in the spirit of a republick, nor a monarchy; that such a principle cannot be supposed to be enforced in mere wantonness, and without an object; for vice is not its own reward; and, therefore, that despotism alone is the spirit of that government, where such principles and practices prevail.

Besides the separate and dishonoured capacity in which modern politicks require Ministers to depend, not on their virtues or talents, not on popular favour or honourable connection, but on *something else* directly opposite; towards perfectly establishing the new system on the ruins of the old, particular innovation of disgrace was necessary in that department of administration, which the courtesy and the success of former times had denominated *the first*. The Prime Minister was now to be the prime object of contempt. Instead of the dignified and official consequence in parliament, which

which naturally and constitutionally would attend a Minister of spirited talents and popular virtues; our *novus homo* must submit to the new penance of his place: deriving no honour from victory, for every man was to know him only as the Adjutant of the troops; but lest he should imagine himself more, or grow by mistake into any reputation, he was studiously to be exposed in situations of disgrace and disappointment: in contemptible minorities, without a friend to support or pity him: (I speak of former occasions, when the court power was supreme; for *now* the management of parliament is not quite so optional to the spirit of St. James's :) so that when the parliamentary Minister seemed to sail on the full tide of power "to bring America to his feet," whether by Scotch bills of *starvation*, or his *own* conciliatory propositions, he was to find himself carried away by some under-current, out of his latitude, and contrary to his reckoning. Real pay indeed was to compensate the futility of nominal rank; but the private favour was precarious, and the publick odium certain. He was to be the

the Minister or the Messenger, as the arbitrary whim of the minute should dictate or permit; to have authority enough to effectuate every mischief that should be commanded, but no power whatever, if by chance he should be inclined to prevent any; justly responsible for others crimes as well as his own, because their willing instrument; the devoted victim of their ambition and his own meanness: he was, in fine, to represent *the pawn* before the person of the *King**; advanced and protected for a time; but when no longer able to divert or sustain the attack, to be swept away from the board for ever, the *enfants perdu* of a desperate party.

March. 1789.

* In allusion to the Game of Chéfs, in which, as has been stated in the life of Mr. Boyd, he was so eminently skilful.

(No. 8.)

THE KING *his own Minister.*

WHEN the planters and merchants of Jamaica demanded from the first Lord of the Admiralty some assurance of protection from the fleet of England, Lord Sandwich informed them, "that his was merely an *executive* department." When they waited on the Secretary of State for America, to solicit some attention from government, Lord George Germain acquainted them, "that every thing had been done that *he* could do." When they called upon the Prime Minister for some exertion to save the island, Lord North told them, "he did not know it was in danger; but if it were, *he* could undertake nothing positive for its defence: that Lord Sandwich was perfectly right in his politicks; for that the first Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretaries of State, and the first Lord of the Treasury, were merely *executive*: the *cabinet must determine.*"

Omitting

Omitting for the present the characteristic conduct of these noble persons on that occasion; the insolent levity, the hollow politeness, and the laboured nothingness; I desire to fasten my reader's attention to the singularity of this subject. It is the only article of political communion among the ministers. In no one sentiment of politics do they agree but this, to dissemble their respective responsibility, and to load their common master with the guilt of all his servants: "you cannot say *that I did it: the King is his own Minister.*"

If it were possible to add to the guilt of men who have plundered the property, and openly assail the liberty of the people, this additional contempt of the constitution of their country would crown their crimes. It is notorious that they have recourse to it on every criminal and penal part of their conduct or their neglect. It is their constant boast of impunity. I inquire not whether such a libel on the government of England---a libel so *false*, my Lord Mansfield, and so seditious in necessary consequence against his crown and dignity, be
stamped

stamped with the royal *imprimatur*; or whether, as I wish may be the fact, it be the forgery of the men who have surrounded and betrayed him. They are the publishers, if they did not invent or dictate it; and they soon will be tried by God and their country.

In this short sentence is wound up and compressed all the mystery and mischief of modern politicks. *The King is his own Minister.* That is, the whole executive power and administration of the state is to be placed in hands superior to control; too strong for ordinary resistance, and too sacred, as is supposed, for punishment. In effect therefore, whenever people can be subdued to the practice of such theory, this principle amounts to perfect and complete despotism. For what is the power of the most arbitrary despot on earth, other than possession of the whole executive strength of the state without check of resistance, or fear of punishment?—What truer description can apply to an arbitrary Monarch, than that he is the uncontrolled Minister of his own ambition and caprice, in the unjust violences of war, and

and the corruptions and follies of internal government?

I had occasion in an early paper to discuss the trite and misunderstood maxim in the polity of England, *that the King can do no wrong*. While the English constitution is preserved, it is in its true sense a wise and useful maxim; but if the monstrous innovation were tolerated, *that the King is his own Minister*, it becomes nonsense or tyranny. If he makes no use whatever of his ministerial power, it is absurd to call him his own minister, as it would be superfluous to say, that he can do no wrong who does nothing. But if he exert the executive power, personally invested in him by this tyrannous doctrine, and if that exertion be unpunishable and unquestionable *because he can do no wrong*, I know no more complete description of arbitrary sway.

The old Utopia of the controlling care of parliament, of the grand inquest of the nation, and the hereditary council of the crown, is very pretty reading, and it is no more. We may amuse ourselves with looking at these venerable family-pictures
of

of the constitution, the works certainly of eminent masters, and admire the unfading colours of their fame. But are they more than objects of curiosity, or, at best, of empty admiration, out of all modern taste and resemblance? In the portrait of Godolphin do we trace the features of Lord North? Was Somers the prototype of the Earl of Mansfield? Is the present usurper of Blenheim, a Duke of Marlborough?

In truth, whoever would now go about to talk of whig-principles in government; inspired and established by the honour of the peers, or the virtue of the commons, must be a more impudent knave than the majority of either house can produce. To prove that the sun shines at midnight is a difficulty too arduous even for "the forehead" (as he himself *modestly* expresses it,) of the Earl of Sandwich. A more practicable, and more wicked course is pursued. It were desperate to appeal to the reason of mankind against their senses; but appeals to their malignity against their reason may be attended with success. Thus the few advocates who can be induced to plead in
such

such a cause, never shock the common sense of their audience, by endeavouring to prove their friends able or honest: they think it decent, and perhaps they have hitherto found it politick, to argue that all other men are equally destitute of talents and virtue. This infamous language, chastised as it has been in parliament by eloquence and refuted by example, would little deserve the revival of publick indignation, if it were not one of the immediate tenets of that schismatick heresy in politics, *that the King is his own Minister*. All popularity of character, and honourable connection, whether of nobles in a state, or of those talents and patriot virtues which constitute true nobility, are eternal bars in the way of the arbitrary system, which, it has been proved, must result from that favourite principle. The early exclusion of Mr. Pitt and introduction of the Earl of Bute, were the first bitter waters of that fatal fountain, which has almost deluged the rights and power of the people. The early and continued spirit of slander against every thing virtuous and honourable, first went forth

forth from the new cabinet against that great and popular man; because his greatness and popularity stood in the way of the new principle, *that the King was to be his own Minister*. The persecution and proscription from royal favour of the whig-families and connections of England, has been uniform; unless in one or two exceptions; the short period of which has only served to prove the rule, that whig-principles are inconsistent with the new Toryism; *that the King is his own Minister*.

It is necessary for the people of England, rising as they now are with yeoman-virtue throughout the country, in vindication of their ancient rights in their property and liberty, to beware of the full extent of this malignant principle. In its full extent, it subverts every security of publick liberty, while the forms of the constitution remain. If the King be his own Minister, and if those who fill the offices of state be, as Lord Sandwich and Lord North affirm, merely *executive*; all due and regular responsibility is lost. Thirteen provinces and the fleet of
England

England may be sold to France; the people must submit to poverty, and hug their eternal chains; for no change of counsel can recover their empire, their power, or their liberty. They can infuse no popular support, nor popular success in consequence, into a new Administration;—for, the King is his own Minister. *Obstinate* adherence, therefore, to such a principle, induces the inevitable alternative of slavery in the people, or the personal responsibility of Majesty. The latter has a precedent in our history; the former has no example.

March, 1780.

(No.

(No. 9.)

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened, (which are Religion; Justice, Counsel, and Treasure,) men had need to pray for fair weather.

LORD Bacon well knew that the definition of terms is necessary, in proportion to the importance of the ideas they signify, and therefore was careful to explain their meaning in the important instance before us. The passions and political manners of men being alike in all ages, the same caution is no less requisite to modern politicians, than to the historian of Empson and Dudley. For this purpose, it would prevent much perplexity in discourse, if all men enjoyed the same advantages of political accuracy that the royal family has received. At St. James's, I suppose, for instance, they understand perfectly what puzzles a country gentleman, that the *only patriotism* is *ambition of power*. For so it is there professed to be, in *the patriot* of the court; and understood,

derstood, therefore, naturally enough by the conscious courtier, to be the same in the patriots of the people. The country wants also an edict definitive of *whiggism*; for what contradiction and counteraction may not ensue from the present mistakes? If, for example, the Archbishop of York, and the Baronet of Yorkshire, were to discuss that subject, what a pleasant play it would be at cross purposes? While the whig-creed of his Grace anathematised the name of "liberty," and consigned its raving advocates to the strait-waistcoat; Sir George's ignorance, uninstructed by this accurate political prelate, might imagine Archbishop Laud a due expiation for the errors of the Prince, and the violated rights of the people.

Above all, it is necessary, at this moment, the publick should understand the construction of sedition and rebellion.

As the right reverend authority I have quoted, has defined *liberty* to nothing; and other high authority, *a secretis* of the crown has explained to the people their crime in imagining they had any right in their *pro*

erty. The 20th of George III. explains and amends the 25th of old Edward; and we are now taught, from the foot of the throne, that to petition the legislature for publick œconomy, is factious and seditious; that to consult and confer towards promoting the object of such petitions, is rebellious and treasonable. The experience of this auspicious Minister in subjects of this nature, has happily recommended him to power, at a period, when a temper less moderate than his Lordship's, or principles less popular, might have inflamed the people to some dangerous exertion of resentment.

Other terms of art remain, which happily begin to be better understood. The appellation of *King's friends*, which at first created some confusion, while popularity lingered in the circle, is now known to be synonymous with the *enemies of the people*. This special definition is admitted on all sides; and it is extremely useful in the present political discussions. When the term occurs, we can argue upon it clearly; and when the persons and their principles come forward to the publick, we can act decisively; we

know what we have to encounter; we see what we must subdue.

It is in this spirit of clearness and decision that the people must co-operate with their friends against their enemies. And it is with perfect sincerity that I pay my poor tribute of gratitude to the ministers of corruption and the abettors of arbitrary power, for their publick profession at last of their cause and their principles; for the opportunity they have given us of encountering them fairly. They strain every nerve of power, they exhaust every source of influence, openly and avowedly against the voice of the people. I will not praise their prudence; but I admire their boldness in such a cause. They come down from their 'vantage ground of high places and parliamentary majorities; they come out of their dark recesses; and are hardy enough to meet the people of England, hand to hand, on the ground of the constitution.

In the eve of such a contest, though its victorious issue be certain in favour of the people, yet such must be the violence of the storm, that all good men are anxious
in

in their "prayers for fair weather." But it is almost a desperate prayer, if the wisdom at the head of my paper be true; if we know that self-preservation is the first law; and if we cast our eyes around us. When we view the great edifice of government; and when, instead of its legitimate supports of treasure and counsel, and justice and religion, we see Lord North, and Lord Mansfield, and Lord Sandwich, can we doubt the danger? is not the ruin certain, if we madly submit our safety to such support?

It is my purpose to examine and detect the respective rottenness of these ruinous pillars of our state; to demonstrate its danger, and the necessity of associating firmly the publick strength to save it in its fall.

February, 1780.

(No. 10.)

Ad homines.

I Have carefully collected, and now submit to publick attention, a few of the sentiments avowed by Ministers and their friends, on the subject of this day's debate. As the debate will be attended *with consequences*, the people should know the principles of their antagonists; the consequence will then be clear in argument, as to the thing; and just in fact, as to the person.

LORD NORTH. "The influence of the Crown is not too great—there are many gentlemen who think it is not great enough. *Publick æconomy* is certainly extremely requisite to the well-being of the state; and the plan of reformation proposed by the honourable gentleman, is the most ample, the most able, the most perfect that ever I heard: I certainly will not oppose it *now*, but I do not pledge myself that I shall not oppose it hereafter." Accordingly he has,
with

with all his power, delayed and obstructed his progress; and *now* avows his opposition to every principle and every part of it. (Under this head of *his Lordship*, an instance of ministerial *ingenuity* ought to be recorded. When he loaded Mr. Burke, and his bill with praises, "But, added this ingenious Minister, the plan is totally distinct from the county petitions; it is contrary to the wishes of the people." Then, my Lord, be consistent, and permit it to proceed; for you tell *them* and Sir George Saville, "a stop must be put to their demands; and that the pension-list shall neither be retrenched nor known.")

LORD NUGENT. "It would be highly improper to restore independency to parliament, by lessening the influence of the crown."

LORD MULGRAVE. "Let the people and their factious demagogues take care, *as they have sinned without provocation, they should be punished without pity.*"

LORD HILLSBOROUGH. "The petitioners are factious and seditious; and their proceedings tend to anarchy and rebellion."

(But,

(But, to do this noble Lord justice, *circular letters* are not the only record he would falsify or evade. He endeavoured last Monday to retract his words; and mark how he mended the matter! "we shall for ever perplex and destroy debate, if we refer to former days; *it is impossible to recollect the words* of a former debate; *but I am sure* I did not use *the word* "petitioners," I used the word *petitions*, and *I only* said, that the motion of the noble Lord (Lord Shelburne) would produce *factious petitions*.)

LORD STORMONT. "It is the most unconstitutional attempt, contrary to the bill of rights, &c. &c. &c. for the people, or any assembly of the people, or *any man among the people* (take care, Mr. Fox) to influence parliament by reference to, or comments on, their debates. The *influence of the Crown*, in the exercise of its discretion, is not cognizable by Parliament; *for it would cease to be a discretionary exercise, if it were subject to parliamentary discussion.*"

LORD BATHURST. "Whatever *county meetings* may be held, whatever *associations of the people* may be carrying on, I shall think
it

it *my duty* (he is President of the Council!) to oppose whatever tends to subvert the constitution, and shake the crown on the head of his present Majesty."

LORD THURLOW. "I admit *æconomical reform* is the wish of the people,—in general; but not with the particularity that is pretended: for I deny that the persons whose names are annexed to *the petitions that are hawked about from alehouse to alehouse*, have or can have knowledge of the objects that the respective clauses regard. That such persons should have knowledge, of such a nature! It is not possible; and that's one reason, my Lords, that it is not true. Of the *influence of the Crown*, it will be difficult to *prove that it is greater now than in the reign of King William*. Let it stand, that the situation of the great branch of our legislative, invested as it is with executive power, the gift and the taking away of great and numerous places, is and *must be a situation of great power and influence*."

LORD CHATHAM. "If they thus persevere in misleading and misadvising the King, I will not say that they can alienate the affections

affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone.*"

March, 1780.

(No. 11.)

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of England, and the Sixteen Peers of Scotland.

—Not as a boundary between the power of the Prince, and the weakness of the People, but as the link which connects them both.

MY LORDS,

URGENT as the business of the time has been, since I had the honour of addressing the noble and learned Speaker of your Assembly,

Assembly, I presume that apology is requisite rather for my long omission than my present attention to your Lordships. Now, indeed, it were unpardonable not to advert to the eventful importance of your situation: and of whatever conduct you shall be pleased to pursue. You hold at this moment the balance of peace in England.

But before we consider the extraordinary opportunity of your present power, it may be proper to pay some attention not only to your present but your former and uniform character, in order to remove some extraordinary suspicions which have most unjustly been imagined against you. Your Lordships would hardly conceive the strange nature of these scandals, if you had not received some knowledge of them from an exalted and learned person among yourselves. Peers of ancient rank, the faithful representatives of illustrious and whig predecessors, could scarcely believe that imputations were entertained against them of a design to impair the just power of the Crown, and to undermine the throne that their ancestors had established; 'till they had

had the astonishing proof of a formal accusation, from the keeper of his Majesty's conscience. Other of your Lordships, whose political opinion and wishes, on motives of honourable conviction, doubtless have concurred with the sentiments of the court rather more than the whig families of the country have found proper to do, must have been at least equally surpris'd, to hear of the immediate danger to monarchy, from the hostile encroachments of the nobles. How did the meek spirit of the Right Reverend Bench wonder at the new revelations of the learned Lord; when instead of their wonted christian *subjection to the powers that be*, they found themselves metamorphosed into "a four aristocracy;" confederated with the Sixteen Peers of Scotland, against the head of the church and Sovereign of the State. Fortunately these charges furnish their own refutation in the immediate consequence they are intended to produce; for while this great criminal judge of equity arraigns you of such dangerous designs against the King's power, he infers and is always justified, in fact, how-

ever

ever strange the argument may seem, that you are, *therefore*, to submit your honour and parliamentary independence to the absolute and unquestionable discretion of the Crown. The *four aristocracy* with which he begins his process soon loses its acedcent quality, and resolves at last into all the sweets of submission.

In justice to the publick, of which your Lordships constitute so honoured a part, I have desired to vindicate your innocence, as it deserves, against these injurious aspersions; and I trust that the other insinuations of that learned person against your honour, ingredients, as it were, of the four aristocracy which he supposed, will be found equally groundless. I cannot conceive, for instance, the First Lord of the Treasury, whom he despises and defends, is authorised, by the example of any of your Lordships, *to fight, at the head of rotten boroughs, against the counties of England*. "When the lapse of time," as the learned Lord expressed it, devolves to individual noblemen a power of nominating members of Parliament, though some of his friendships may have

have afforded him much electioneering experience; yet I can scarcely believe even his learned authority, that any of your Lordships would fight your rotten boroughs, or fabricate your rotten protests, against the landed interests and landed sense of England. Let us rather suppose, according to some examples which this country gratefully acknowledges, that when such patronage vests in the persons of the nobles, it will be exercised, not more for their own honour, than for the happiness of the people: let us hope, in conformity to those illustrious examples, that the nobles of this country forget not they are citizens, but that, feeling the spirit of popularity pervade their order, as it must pervade and animate every order in a free government, they gladly reciprocate to the people authority and support; knowing that the best exertion of their influence for the publick cause, is to establish their firm connection on the ground of honour, cemented only by publick and consistent principle. Such nobles think it their best service to fill their phalanx, and fight under the same banner, with

the

the best abilities and virtues of the country ; with men, whose unremitted and unrewarded labours, in every capacity they have stood in, have given honour to private station, and profession, and added lustre to the most illustrious.

When such connections are so confirmed, they are too strong for the ambition of power to break, and too virtuous for corruption to undermine, or for calumny to traduce. They are in its true and genuine sense, the *aristocracy* of a free country, or, as a modern eloquent authority well defined it, *the union of the best men against the worst*, in support of the rights both of the Crown and the People. They are not that monstrous and bastard aristocracy, sour indeed, and bitter both to the people and the prince ; which would subdue both to its own avarice and ambition, which forbore not to insult the person of majesty in gratification of its own pride, as it has uniformly trampled on the liberties of England in pursuance of the Scotch system. Of such an aristocracy, if any *disjecta membra* yet remain ; if some have pretended to separate from counsels, in which

which they profess no man of conscience or honour can act, and yet continue in effect to support those counsels; if others, with the completest contempt for the person of the Minister, as eminent and high-minded talents must condemn dishonour, yet continue to screen his measures from publick indignation; if they defend him by decrying the publick voice, and vilifying the petitions of the people, avowing the increased and increasing influence of the crown against the independency of parliament, your country conjures you, my Lords, to beware of such men. Maintain the true honours of your House, the noble and hereditary estate of a free Legislature, against such men and such conduct.

The importance of this consideration of your Lordships' character, sacred as it ought to be without doors as well as within, has led me into greater length than I foresaw. For the present, therefore, I postpone my other consideration of the extraordinary and eventful situation in which your Lordships at present stand. I postpone it the more willingly, because this day will complete the measure

measure of its importance. The representatives of the people, as the House of Commons have at last approved themselves, will this day again defeat the Minister of the Crown. It will then be in the wisdom of your Lordships to decide between the despair of despotism and the triumph of popularity; to flatter with a faint and false hope the gasps of ambition, or to facilitate and partake, what you cannot prevent, THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE.

March 20, 1780.

THE WHIG'S ADDRESS.

TO

The Memorable Hundred & Eighty-eight.*

GENTLEMEN,

AS you do not yet know the duty of the day, permit me to pre-occupy your attention with a few observations on the nature of the service you may possibly be ordered upon, and to represent to your interest the alternative consequence of your obedience or disobedience to such orders.

A bill has been brought into parliament, to effect a reformation in the publick æco-

* The number of members of the House of Commons who voted against Sir George Saville's motion, for a list of all the subsisting pensions granted by the Crown. The motion was made on the 15th day of February, 1780; but by the sudden illness of the Speaker, the debate was postponed to the 21st of the same month; when the motion was negatived by a majority of two only; the minority being 186, and the majority 188.

nomy, both of the purse and the government of the state. That a bill, whose direct objects are the property and liberty of the people, should be the anxious hope of a people impoverished, and almost enslaved, is not extraordinary. That a bill, of such a description, is the antipathy of a corrupted and corrupting Administration, is certain. Fear, however, compelled their acquiescence in the first instance; and it was determined, (most of you now know it) only to suggest delay; to wait for occasion; and to seize the first that should offer, of annihilating the bill; when it was hoped that the popular anxiety might have subsided. The vigilance of the people, and the people's friends, has hitherto baffled the Minister; and now he is driven to the wall. He is in the forlorn hope to-day. He will either attempt some opposition to its second reading, (for you know that his promise of the contrary is nothing;) or he will oppose its being committed immediately; or he will at once give up the contest, and strike to the people of England, as he has done to America

rica and Ireland. If the latter event takes place, my expostulation is unnecessary; but if he attempt either of the former, or in any form of procrastination endeavour to obstruct the progress of the bill, consider the certain consequence of your supporting him in a majority. It will be this:—

The committees of correspondence, throughout the counties of England, will instantly communicate the fact, with all its circumstance and explanation; the nature of the bill, and the nature of its rejection; with an exact account of the names and situation of the men who reject it. England will then see that those, and almost only those, who either hold places under the Crown, receive pensions from the Minister, or have invaded us from the northern part of the island, are the persons who conspire against the property and liberty of the people. I would rather leave to your imagination all the consequences of such a contemplation: but as probably you do not yet know much of the *committed spirit* of the country, it may be fair to advise you, that
very

very possibly they may proceed to vote you enemies to this country, and *not the representatives of the people.*

With more pleasure, and fewer words, let me exhort your attention to the honourable and the safe, and in point even of interest, the wise alternative. Break the disgraceful chains that have so long bound you to an abandoned Administration; and retain from the forgiveness of the people what you cannot longer withhold from their indignation. Not the gifts, but the givers have disgraced you. Your places, your pensions, even the country of some of you, cannot justly subject you to positive reproach. It is only as they have inclined and debased you into infamous servility, that they have grown proverbial in the contempt of mankind. But in prudence, if not in honour, *assume the virtue if you have it not*; nor longer devote yourselves to common ruin with the falling edifice of corruption. It shakes already to its foundation; the breath of the people will level it for ever.

the first of these is the fact that the
 system is not a simple one, but a
 complex one, involving many factors
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GENUINE ABSTRACTS
FROM
TWO SPEECHES
OF THE LATE
EARL OF CHATHAM,
AND
HIS REPLY TO THE EARL OF SUFFOLK.
WITH A
PREFACE AND NOTES.

— “ *Quanto majis admiraremini, si audistis ipsum!*
Æschines de Demosthene, Cic. de Oratore.

[These Abstracts were originally printed for J. Doddsley, in the year 1779. And they have since been re-published, without the Preface, by Mr. Almon, in his Anecdotes of Lord Chatham's Life. But as the Preface is too closely connected with the Abstracts to be published separately, as it is in truth an animated picture of the manner in which these celebrated speeches were delivered, and as the one has been no less admired for its elegance, than the others have astonished all who heard the noble speaker, for their extraordinary accuracy, it were an injustice to the MEMORY of Mr. Boyd, to omit them in a collection of his Works.]

P R E F A C E

B Y

MR. B O Y D.

THE Editor of the following Abstracts hopes, that some introductory explanation will not be unacceptable, of the manner in which they have been preserved, and the allowances with which they should be read.

Soon after the respective dates of their delivery, he was favoured with the manuscript copies, by the gentleman whose memory had served him sufficiently to commit them to writing,---with an exactness unusual in the recital of publick debates. For, if the reader were fortunate enough to have heard them pronounced, he will here recollect, not only the substance, but in great measure, the form and phrase in which they were spoken.

It must be observed, that this recital professes to extend only to parts of the speeches
actually

actually delivered by Lord Chatham. It is not perhaps within possibility, that the unassisted memory of one person should retain, *verbatim*, the whole of such speeches. But the Editor knows it was the wish and care of his friend, faithfully to represent as much as was possible of the great original; submitting to give an incomplete rather than a spurious likeness. It was particularly his study to preserve the genuine diction of the noble speaker;---as, of all the characteristic features by which his oratory was distinguished, none was more eminent than the bold purity and classical force of his phraseology.---It was so strong and singular as to deserve, and at the same time to facilitate, an exact recollection.

For the authenticity of these Abstracts, it were perhaps sufficient to refer to themselves: their peculiar energy of style and sentiment, is their best authentication. But, besides this internal evidence, the Editor has also the satisfaction of assuring the Publick, that the concurring approbation of many accurate and respectable judges have given sanction

tion to the faithfulness of his friend's representation---as far as it extends.

It may be proper to observe, that from posterior recollection of some passages, and revival of a few others in his memory, by conversation, or desultory hints in newspapers, the Editor's friend could have greatly increased the bulk of these transcripts; and correctly too, as to matter; but the mode of expression was lost. *Fugerat irrevocabile verbum.* And he was as unwilling to interpolate any language of his own, as he was unable to render it consistent with the genuine style of the great original*.

But the candour and imagination of the reader must supply another deficiency in our representation of Lord Chatham's oratory, more affecting our purpose of exhibiting its true likeness, than the partial imper-

* This, it is hoped, will be sufficient apology to the reader, for the abruptness in the beginning of the first speech; which the Editor's friend unfortunately did not hear, and would not presume to supply.—Before he came into the house, Lord Chatham had been speaking for some time.

fection we have mentioned.---Those who have been witnesses to the wonders of his eloquence---who have listened to the musick of his voice, or trembled at its majesty---who have seen the persuasive gracefulness of his action, or have felt its force;---those who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye---who have rejoiced in the glories of his countenance---or shrunk from his frowns,---will remember the resistless power with which he impressed conviction. In these sketches of his original genius, they will read what they have heretofore heard; and their memory will give due action to the picture, by refiguring to their minds what they have with admiration seen.---But, to those who never heard nor saw this accomplished orator, the utmost effort of imagination will be necessary, to form a just idea of that combination of excellence, which gave perfection to his eloquence:---his elevated aspect, commanding the awe and mute attention of all who beheld him; whilst a certain grace in his manner, conscious of all the dignities of his situation, of the solemn scene he acted in, as well as his own exalted character,

character, seemed to acknowledge and repay the respect he received :---his venerable form, bowed with infirmity and age ; but animated by a mind which nothing could subdue ;---his spirit shining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and cloathing his lips with thunder ;---or, if milder topics offered, harmonising his countenance in smiles, and his voice in softness ;---for the compass of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vast, no imagination too sublime, for the grandeur and majesty of his manner ; so no fancy was too playful, nor any allusion too comic, for the ease and gayety with which he could accommodate to the occasion. But the *character* of his oratory was dignity : this presided throughout ; giving force, because securing respect, even to his sallies of pleasantry. This elevated the most familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the most familiar allusions ; so that, in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory *.

This

* *Telum Oratoris*, Cic.—“ You talk, my Lords, of conquering America—of your numerous friends there,
“ to

This extraordinary personal dignity, supported on the basis of his well-earned fame, at once acquired to his opinions an assent which is slowly given to the argument of other men. His assertions rose into proof; his foresight became prophecy.— Besides the general sanction of his character, and the decisive dignity with which he pronounced his sentiments, it was also well known that he carefully cultivated the most authentick channels of intelligence. And it was an additional and just praise to him, that he exerted the great influence of his name, and his other opportunities, to investigate the purest sources of political information. But as the activity of his publick zeal stimulated him to such exertion; so the superiority of his genius directed him to higher sources. *For other men*, even the mechanical medium of official knowledge is a sphere *too laborious*. Though Lord Chatham's duty did not disdain, his spirit soared above such little adventitious advantages.

“ to annihilate the Congress—and your powerful forces
 “ to disperse her army :—*I might as well talk of driving*
“ them before me with this crutch,” LORD CHATHAM.

His

His was intelligence in a truer sense, and from the noblest source ;---“from his own sagacious mind *.” His intuition, like faith, seemed superior to the common forms of reasoning. No clue was necessary to the labyrinth illuminated by his genius. Truth came forth at his bidding, and realised the wish of the philosopher :---she was seen and beloved.

It is by no means in the intention or the limits of this paper, and still less within the abilities of the writer, to analyse all the oratory of Lord Chatham, or give a full and just description of excellence so various.

* He is his own best expositor. In a debate, 1770, on the papers relative to Falkland's Island, he explained this subject, *for the benefit of ministers*. “Let them not screen themselves behind the want of intelligence :—they had intelligence :—I know they had :—If they had not, they are criminal ; and their excuse is their crime.—But I will tell these young ministers the true source of intelligence : It is sagacity ;—sagacity to compare causes and effects ; to judge of the present state of things, and discern the future, by careful review of the past.—Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every prince in Europe ; he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind.”

If

If the few imperfect hints that have been offered, can convey any idea of the vigour and animation of his manner, they will have attained their purpose: and the remains of his eloquence will afford proportionate pleasure; "*even in his ashes shall survive their wonted fires.*"

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GENUINE ABSTRACTS,
&c.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Jan. 20, 1775.

THE Earl of Dartmouth, then Secretary of State for America, produced the official American papers.

The EARL of CHATHAM, after strongly inveighing against the dilatoriness of administration, &c. proceeded as follows :

— “ But as I have not the honour of access to his Majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him, through the constitutional channel of this house, my ideas of America, to rescue him from the misadvice of his present ministers. I congratulate your Lordships that the business is *at last* entered upon,
by

by the noble Lord's * laying the papers before you. As I suppose your Lordships too well apprized of their contents, I hope I am not premature, in submitting to you my present motion :

“ That an humble Address be presented
“ to his Majesty, humbly to desire and be-
“ seech his Majesty, that in order to open
“ the way towards a happy settlement of
“ the dangerous troubles in America, by
“ beginning to allay ferments and soften
“ animosities there ; and above all, for pre-
“ venting in the mean time any sudden and
“ fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffer-
“ ing under the daily irritation of an army
“ before their eyes, posted in their town ;
“ it may graciously please his Majesty that
“ immediate orders may be dispatched to
“ General Gage, for removing his Majesty's
“ forces from the town of Boston as soon
“ as the rigour of the season, and other cir-
“ cumstances indispensable to the safety and
“ accommodation of the said troops, may
“ render the same practicable.”

* Lord Dartmouth.

I will

“ I wish, my Lords, not to lose a day in this urgent pressing crisis; an hour now, lost in allaying the ferment in America, may produce years of calamity; for my own part, I will not desert for a moment the conduct of this mighty business, from the first to the last; unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention; I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded Ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their important danger.

“ When I state the importance of the Colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger hanging over this country, from the present plan of misadministration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America: and I shall ever contend that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree:— they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation; but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances, and their private internal pro-

perty; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent; given in their provincial assemblies;—else, *it will cease to be property*.—As to the metaphysical refinements attempting to shew that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints, as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here: I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless.

“ When I urge this measure of recalling the troops from Boston, I urge it on this pressing principle, that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace, and the establishment of your prosperity.—It will then appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably; and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it shall be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout your empire.

“ Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament, and your
imperious

imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave your fellow subjects in America; who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the legislature or the* bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

“ The means of enforcing this thralldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice, at they are unjust in principle. Indeed I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of General Gage, and the troops under his command; thinking him as I do, a man of humanity and understanding; and entertaining, as I

* A favourite idea prevailed, and was often urged in argument by Administration, “ that absolute passive obedience is due to all possible acts of the legislature, which “ must not, *in any case whatever*, be questioned, much less “ resisted by the people.” Mr. Locke thought otherwise; as his able and constitutional expounder, Lord Camden, has often demonstrated. But in truth, it is a point rather of *practical* policy.—If, however, the postulaturn were admitted in *speculation*, the inference will not reach from Westminster to Boston. It will remain to be proved, that our *lords spiritual and temporal* have *privilege* in America; and that our Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, are *their* representatives.

ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love, for the British troops.—Their situation is truly unworthy; penned up—pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence:—you may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt: and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation. But I find a report *creeping* abroad, that the Ministers censure General Gage's inactivity: let *them* censure him—it becomes them—it becomes their *justice* and their *honour*:—*I* mean not to censure his inactivity;—it is a prudent and necessary inaction: but it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible. This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus*.

“ I therefore urge and conjure your Lordships, immediately to adopt this conciliating measure;—I will pledge myself for its immediately producing conciliatory effects, by
its

its being thus well-timed; but if you delay till your vain hope shall be accomplished, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever. But admitting that this hope, which in truth is desperate, should be accomplished, what do you gain by the imposition of your victorious amity?—you will be untrusted and unthanked. Adopt then the grace, while you have the opportunity of reconciliation; or at least prepare the way. Allay the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious hostile cause;—obnoxious and unserviceable; for their merit can only be in inaction: “*Non dimicare et vincere* :” their victory can never be by exertions.—Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people; with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts:—three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny.—And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased?
—Are

—Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity?—beyond the accounts of history or description of poetry; —“*Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigatque*, AUDITQUE:”—so says the wisest poet, and perhaps the wisest statesman and politician:—but our Ministers say, the Americans *must not be heard*. They have been condemned *unheard*; the indiscriminating hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility has blocked up the town * and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants.

“But his Majesty is advised that the union in America cannot last. Ministers have more eyes than I, and should have more ears; but from all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it, an union, solid, permanent, and effectual.—Ministers may satisfy themselves, and delude

* Boston.

the

the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America.—They are *not* commercial:—they are your packers and factors; they live upon nothing—for I call commiffion nothing;—I mean the ministerial *authority* for this American intelligence; the runners for government, who are paid for their intelligence. But these are not the men, nor this the influence, to be considered in America, when we estimate the firmness of their union. Even to extend the question, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the consideration. Trade indeed increases the glory and wealth of a country; but its real wealth and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land:—in their simplicity of life, is found the simpleness of virtue,—the integrity and courage of freedom. These true genuine sons of the earth are invincible: and they surround and hem in the mercantile bodies; even if these bodies, which supposition I totally disclaim, could be supposed to be disaffected to the cause of liberty. Of this general spirit existing in the American *nation*;

—for so I wish to distinguish the real and genuine Americans from the pseudo-traders I have described — of this spirit of independence*, animating the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information; —It is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their established principle; their confirmed persuasion; it is their nature and their doctrine.

“ I remember some years ago when the stamp-act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity, on that subject; and he assured me, with a certainty which his judgment and opportunities gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America;—That you might destroy their towns, and cut them off

* (i. e). of *legal liberty*;—the *independence* of freemen, contra-distinguished to the *dependent* state of slaves. It was thought necessary to specify this idea, lest Lord Chatham should have been misconceived to have imputed an original *wish of disconnexion* from this country. On the contrary, when that fatal event did occur, his Lordship attributed it to a very different cause from the *inclination* of America.—“ That state of independency into which “ *your measures hitherto have driven her.*”—See next speech,

from

from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have—what, my Lords?—their *woods* and their *liberty*. The name of my authority, if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.

“If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America; prepare the way, open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction: but proceed not to such coercion, such proscription; cease your indiscriminate inflictions; amerce not thirty thousand—oppress not three millions for the fault of forty or fifty!—Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies;—you irritate them to unappeasable rancour.—What though you march from town to town, and from province to province; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission—which I only suppose, not admit—how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress?—to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles

miles of continent, populous in valour, liberty, and resistance!

"This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen:—It was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind; and above all, from the whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America, is the *same which formerly oppo-

* Not so, according to the political logic of administration; which would prove the *Toryism* of "this American spirit." In the debate for an address, on the first day of the session, October 26, 1775, Mr. Fox urged, with his usual ability, what he conceived to be whig-principles, consulting the good of the *governed*, rather than the *governors*; principles jealously securing the *rights of the people* against every encroachment of power; and these, he thought, had some relation to the cause and conduct of America. But the noble Lord, who is sometimes *roused* by that gentleman's manner of speaking, undertook to prove the contrary.—"Administration are the "Whigs; and the Americans are Tories.—Administration wish to maintain the power of *parliament*, which is "the true whig-principle.—The Americans, on the contrary, would annihilate the authority of parliament, but "profess themselves willing to obey the *crown*:—the perfect description of a Tory!"—One would imagine, from such reasoning, "*run mad*," (to borrow the phrase of a right reverend politician) that his Lordship had studied *whiggism* under his Grace.

fed

sed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England:—the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the bill of rights vindicated the English constitution:—the same principle which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of our liberties, *that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent*.

“ This glorious spirit of whiggism animates three millions in America:—who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and fordid affluence; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit?—aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers?—Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the Colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for, is and must be observed.—This country superintends and controuls their trade and navigation; but they *tax themselves*. And this distinction between external and internal controul is sacred and insurmountable; it is involved in the abstract nature

nature of things.—Property is private, individual, absolute:—Trade is an extended and complicated consideration;—it reaches as far as ships can sail, or winds can blow; it is a great and various machine:—To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exist in that relation;—there is no such thing, *no such idea in this constitution as a supreme power operating upon property.*—Let this distinction then remain for ever ascertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours.—As an American, I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation; as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cause of the whigs on the other
side

side of the Atlantic, and on this:—" 'Tis liberty to liberty engaged," that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country.—In this great cause they are immoveably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature—immutable, eternal,—fixed as the firmament of heaven!—

"To such united force, what force shall be opposed?—What, my Lords?—A few regiments in America, and seventeen or eighteen thousand men at home! The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your Lordships' time.—Nor can such a national and principled union be resisted by the tricks of office, or ministerial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting noses on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger:—it must arrive, my Lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors, and then these boastful ministers, spite of all their confidence, and all their manœuvres, shall be forced to hide their heads.—They shall be forced to a disgraceful abandonment of their present measures and principles: principles which they avow, but cannot defend; ---measures

—measures which they presume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate. They cannot, my Lords, they cannot stir a step;—they have not a *move* * left;—they are *check-mated*.

“But it is not repealing this act of parliament, or that act of parliament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can restore America to our bosom: you must repeal her fears and her resentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, posted at Boston; irritated with an hostile

* An allusion to the game of Chefs. The *King* is the object of the game; and therefore the most valuable, though not the most powerful, piece on the board. *Check-mate* is that situation where he is so weakly supported by his pieces, or so entangled by their injudicious disposition, that he cannot escape. This danger is often incurred by exposing himself too much, and taking too active a part in the game. Vide Philidor, *Analyse du Jeu des Echecs*.—It is certainly a noble and royal pastime. Charles I. was actually playing at it in the Scots camp, when intelligence was brought to him of their final resolution to betray him. In due praise of the royal steadiness, the historian observes, that “*he continued his game without interruption*.” See Hume’s *Hist. Eng.*—or, as Lord Chatham once called it in the House of Lords, “*his APOLOGY for the House of Stuart*.”

array

array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure; they will be *irato animo*; they will not be sound, honourable pactions of freemen; they will be dictates of fear, and extortions of force.—But it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, principled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission—it is impossible: and when I hear General Gage censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those, whose intemperate measures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his present situation.—His situation reminds me, my Lords, of the answer of a French general in the civil wars of France. —Monsieur Conde opposed to Monsieur Turenne: He was asked, how it happened that he did not take his adversary prisoner, as he was often very near him: “J’ai peur,” replied Conde, very honestly, “J’ai peur “qu’il ne me prenne;” *I’m afraid he’ll take me.*---

“When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom,

dom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own.---For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation---and it has been my favourite study; I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world---that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion in such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia.---I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be *forced ultimately to retract*; let us retract while we can, not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts*: *they must be repealed*;---
you

* Acts of parliament passed the preceding session;—for shutting up the port of Boston; altering the charter of the Massachuset's Bay, &c. The noble speaker's prediction has been strictly verified; the repeal of these acts was *at last*, after three years successful war, sent out as a peace-offering to the Congress of America:—whether
with

you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it:---I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed. Avoid then this humiliating, disgraceful necessity.---With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and to happiness: for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and with justice.---That *you* should first concede, is obvious from sound and rational policy. ---Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from the superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

“ So thought a wise poet and a wise man in political sagacity: the friend of Mæcenas, and the eulogist of Augustus.---To him, the adopted son and successor of the first Cæsar, to him, the master of the world, he

with a “ dignity becoming the once exalted character of
“ this country, or through a disgraceful humiliating ne-
“ cessity,”—let the feelings of this country confess.

wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity; "*Tuque prior, tu parce;---projice tela manu.*"

"Every motive therefore of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America,---by a removal of your troops from Boston,---by a repeal of your acts of parliament,---and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your Colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures.---Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread:---France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors;---with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your Colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

"To conclude, my Lords: if the Ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm *that they will make the crown*

not

not worth his wearing.---I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone.*"

The Reader will recollect that the preceding speech was made on Jan. 20, 1775. He will have observed that the motion which it accompanied, for removing his Majesty's troops from Boston, was urged by the Noble Speaker expressly on the ground of *peaceably* accommodating the peace with America. He will remember that the only ground of dispute then, was *the taxation of that country claimed by this*; the attempted exercise of which, had produced a riot at Boston. The *Independence* of America was not then in contemplation: unless in the reveries of a reverend writer on the subject, who maintained a proposition, memorable only for its *singularity*; "that the Independence of America would be a beneficial event for England."---To the Americans it never occurred, unless for the refutation of some injurious suspicions, by the

most solemn, absolute, and express disavowal.

The noble Lord's motion was, however, rejected: and hostilities commenced at Lexington, on the 19th of the following April.

It is unnecessary to particularize the subsequent events. They are too well known, too severely felt by every friend of his country.---“Years of calamity,” fatally fulfil the prophecy of Lord Chatham. The British empire has sustained the “immedicable vulnus” which his wisdom would have averted. How he would have corrected the disorder at its *crisis*, before it attained its desperate malignity, will be seen in the following speech, on November 20th, 1777. His Majesty's most gracious speech of that day is prefixed; that the “Confidence” and “Hopes” expressed in it by his Majesty's Ministers, may fairly stand in contrast with the opinions of Lord Chatham. Let history form the comment.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Nov. 20th, 1777.

HIS Majesty opened the Session with the following most gracious Speech from the throne.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is a great satisfaction to me, that I can have recourse to the wisdom and support of my Parliament, in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America demands our most serious attention. The powers which you have entrusted me with, for the suppression of this revolt, have been most faithfully exerted; and I have a just confidence, that the conduct and courage of my officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by sea and land, will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, be attended with success. But as I am persuaded that you will see the necessity of preparing for such further operations

rations as the contingences of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels, may render expedient; I am for that purpose pursuing the proper measures for keeping my land-forces complete to their present establishment; and if I should have occasion to encrease them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on your zeal and publick spirit to enable me to make them good.

“ I have received repeated assurances from foreign powers, of their pacific dispositions; my own cannot be doubted: but, at this time, when the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continue, I have thought it adviseable to make a considerable augmentation to my naval force; as well to keep my kingdoms in a respectable state of security, as to provide an adequate protection for the extensive commerce of my subjects. And, as on the one hand, I am determined that the peace of Europe shall not be disturbed by me, so, on the other, I will always be a faithful guardian of the honour of the Crown of Great-Britain.

“ Gentlemen

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. The various services which I have mentioned to you will unavoidably require large supplies; and nothing could relieve my mind from the concern which I feel for the heavy charge which they must bring on my faithful people, but the perfect conviction that they are necessary for the welfare and the essential interests of my kingdoms.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I will steadily pursue the measures in which we are engaged, for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which, with the blessing of God, I will maintain through the several parts of my dominions. But I shall ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war. And I still hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude will return to their allegiance; and that the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret

gret for what they have lost, and the feelings of what they now suffer, under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will rekindle in their hearts a spirit of loyalty to their sovereign, and of attachment to their mother-country; and that they will enable me, with the concurrence and support of my parliament, to accomplish what I shall consider as the greatest happiness of my life, and the greatest glory of my reign, the restoration of peace, order, and confidence, to my American Colonies."

In answer to his Majesty's most gracious speech, Lord Percy moved their Lordships to concur in an Address in the following terms:

"That they, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return his Majesty their humble thanks for his most gracious speech from the throne:

"To offer their congratulations to his Majesty on the encrease of his domestic happiness, by the birth of another princess,
and

and the recovery of his royal Consort; who is most highly endeared to this nation; as well by her Majesty's eminent and amiable virtues, as by every new pledge of security to our religious and civil liberties.

“ That they are duly sensible of his Majesty's goodness in recurring to the advice and support of his parliament in the present conjuncture, when the rebellion in North-America still continues: and to return his Majesty their unfeigned thanks for having communicated to them the just confidence which his Majesty reposes in the zeal, intrepidity, and exertions of his Majesty's officers and forces both by sea and land: but at the same time, that they entertain a well-founded hope of the important successes, which, under the blessing of Providence, may be expected: That they cannot but applaud his Majesty's unwearied vigilance and wisdom, in recommending them to prepare, at all events, for such further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels may render expedient:—That they are therefore gratefully sensible of his Majesty's consideration, in pursuing the measures necessary

cessary to keep his land-forces complete to the present establishment; and that they owe it both to his Majesty and themselves to say, that they shall chearfully concur in enabling his Majesty to make good such new engagements with foreign powers, for the augmentation of the auxiliary troops, as the weighty motives his Majesty has stated, may induce him to contract.

“ That it is with great satisfaction they learn, that his Majesty receives repeated assurances from foreign powers of their pacific dispositions; and that, with hearts full of gratitude and admiration, they acknowledge his Majesty’s humane, steady, and dignified conduct, which is equally well calculated to demonstrate to the world, his Majesty’s wish to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe, and his determination to maintain the honour of the crown, the security of these kingdoms, and the commercial interests of his subjects.

“ That they thankfully receive his Majesty’s declaration of perseverance now pursuing, for the re-establishment of a just and constitutional subordination through the several

several parts of his Majesty's dominions; and beg leave to assure his Majesty, that they participate the desire which at the same time animates his royal breast, to see a proper opportunity for putting an end to the effusion of blood, and the various calamities inseparable from a state of war.

"That the constant tenor of his Majesty's reign has shewn, that his whole attention is employed for the safety and happiness of all his people; and that, whenever their unhappy fellow-subjects in North-America shall duly return to their allegiance, they shall readily concur in every wise and salutary measure which can contribute to restore confidence and order, and to fix the mutual welfare of Great-Britain and her Colonies on the most solid and permanent foundations."

LORD CHATHAM. "I rise, my Lords, to declare my sentiments on this most solemn and serious subject. It has imposed a load upon my mind, which I fear, nothing can remove; but which impels me to endeavour

deavour its alleviation, by a free and unre-
served communication of my sentiments.—

“ In the first part of the address, I
have the honour of heartily concurring with
the noble earl who moved it. No man
feels sincerer joy than I do, none can offer
more genuine congratulation on every ac-
cession of strength to the protestant succe-
sion: I therefore join in every congratula-
tion on the birth of another princess, and
the happy recovery of her Majesty.—But I
must stop here—my courtly complaisance
will carry me no farther;—I will not join in
congratulation on misfortune and disgrace;
—I cannot concur in a blind and servile ad-
dress, which approves and endeavours to
sanctify, the monstrous measures that have
heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us—
that have brought ruin to our doors. This,
my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous mo-
ment! It is not a time for adulation;—the
smoothness of flattery cannot now avail—
cannot save us in this awful and rugged
crisis:—it is now necessary to instruct the
throne in the language of truth.—We must
dispel the delusion and the darkness which
envelop

envelop it, and display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors.

“ This, my Lords, is our duty ; it is the proper function of this noble assembly, sitting as we do upon our honours in this house, the hereditary council of the Crown : ---And *who* is the Minister---*where* is the Minister, that has dared to suggest to the throne the contrary, unconstitutional language, this day delivered from it?---The accustomed language from the throne has been application to parliament for advice, and reliance on its constitutional advice and assistance;---as it is the right of parliament to give, so it is the duty of the crown to ask it:---but on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on our constitutional councils!--no advice is asked from the sober and enlightened care of parliament! but the Crown from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue measures---and what measures, my Lords?---the measures that have produced the imminent
perils

perils that threaten us, the measures that have brought ruin to our doors.

“ Can the Minister of the day now presume to expect a continuance of support, in this ruinous infatuation?—Can parliament be so dead to its dignity, and its duty, as to be thus deluded into the loss of the one, and the violation of the other?—To give an unlimited credit and support, for the *steady* perseverance in measures;—*that* is the word and the conduct, not proposed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us—in measures, I say, my Lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to ruin and contempt!—“ *But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world;—now none so poor to do her reverence.*”—I use the words of a poet; but though it be poetry, it is not fiction.—It is a shameful truth, that not alone the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring, but her well-earned glories, her true honour, and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my Lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged

raged and sustained America:—and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies, are in Paris: in Paris, they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France.—Can there be a more mortifying insult?—Can even our Ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace?—Do they dare to resent it?—Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America?—Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England!—The people whom they affected to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies;—the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility;—this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their

their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy!—and our Ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect.—Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who, “but yesterday,” gave law to the house of Bourbon? My Lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw, filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish general, on a similar subject, was attended to, and complied with; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count Le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom:—happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themselves masters of the place—and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

“My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honour, calls upon

us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of Majesty from the delusions which surround it.—The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known.—No man thinks more highly of them than I do: I love and honour the English troops; I know their virtues and their valour; I know they can achieve any thing—except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is *an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, YOU CANNOT conquer America. Your armies last war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it?—It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able General*, now a noble Lord in this House, a long and laborious campaign, to expel 5000 Frenchmen from French America.—My Lords, YOU CANNOT CONQUER AMERICA.—What is your present situation there? we do not know the worst; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. Besides the sufferings,

* Sir Jeffery (now Lord) Amherst.

perhaps *total loss*, of the Northern force*.—The best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines;—*he was obliged* to relinquish his attempt; and with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations.—We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since.—As to conquest, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is impossible:—You may swell every expence, and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince, that sells his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince;—your efforts are for ever vain and impotent; doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable

* General Burgoyne's army. The history of it is short. Most of its bravest officers fell; and above half its numbers: the REST surrendered to the enemy on the 17th of Oct. 1777. See the Gazettes. The account of this *total loss*, as the noble speaker's prescience expressed it on the 20th of November, arrived in England in the beginning of December.

resentment,

repentment, the minds of your enemies. To over-run them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them, and their possessions, to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!

“Your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies.—The spirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them.—I know it—and notwithstanding what the noble Earl*, who moved the address, has given as his opinion of our American army, I know from authentic information, and the *most experienced officers*, that our discipline is deeply wounded. Whilst this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes: whilst our strength and discipline is lowered, theirs rises and improves.

“But, my Lords, who is the man, that in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorise and affo-

* Lord Percy.

ciate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indians, the defence of disputed rights; and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment; unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character—it is a violation of the constitution—I believe it is against law.—It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired;—infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine—familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war,—“that make ambition virtue!”—What makes ambition virtue?—the sense of honour. But is the sense of honour consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder?—Besides these mur-

derers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers, what other allies have they acquired? What *other powers* have they associated to their cause?—Have they entered into alliance with *the King of the gypsies*?—Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.

“ The independent views of America have been stated and asserted as the foundation of this address.—My Lords, no man wishes more for the due dependence of America on this country than I do. To preserve it, and not to confirm that state of independence into which *your measures* hitherto have *driven* them, is the object we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights against arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; it is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots:—but contending for independency and total disconnection from England, as an Englishman, I cannot wish them success; for, in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of
England

England and America. She derived assistance and protection from us; and we reaped from her the most important advantages: she was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power.—It is our duty, therefore, my Lords, if we wish to save our Country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects: and in this perilous crisis, perhaps may be the only one in which we can hope for success; for in their negotiations with France, they have, or think they have, reason to complain:—though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree:—America is in ill humour with France, on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations:—let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England, to the old habits of connection and mutual interest that united both countries: this *was* the established sentiment

timent of all the continent; and still, my Lords, in the great and principal part, the sound part of America, this wise and affectionate disposition prevails: and there is a very considerable part of America yet sound—the middle and the southern provinces; some parts may be factious and blind to their true interests; but if we express a wise and benevolent disposition to communicate with them those immutable rights of nature, and those constitutional liberties, to which they are equally entitled with ourselves; by a conduct so just and humane, we shall confirm the favourable, and conciliate the adverse:—I say, my Lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, but no more. I would participate to them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing subjects of a free state can possess; and I do not see why they should not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original substantial liberty, which Devonshire, or Surrey, or the county I live in, or any other county in England can claim; reserving always, as the sacred right of the mother-country,

country, the due constitutional dependency of the Colonies. The inherent supremacy of the state in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her subjects, is necessary for the mutual benefit and preservation of every part, to constitute and preserve the prosperous arrangement of the whole empire.

“ The sound parts of America, of which I have spoken, must be sensible of these great truths, and of their real interests. America is not in that state of desperate and contemptible rebellion, which this country has been deluded to believe:—It is not a wild and lawless banditti, who, having nothing to lose, might hope to snatch something from public convulsions;—many of their leaders and great men have a great stake in this great contest: the gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an estate of four or five thousand pounds a year: and when I consider these things, I cannot but lament the inconsiderate violence of our penal acts, our declarations of treason and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiscation.

“ As

“ As to the disposition of foreign powers, which is asserted to be pacific * and friendly, let us judge my Lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things, than by interested assertions.—The uniform assistance supplied to America by France, suggests a different conclusion:—The most important interests of France, in aggrandizing and enriching herself with what she most wants, supplies of every naval store from America, must inspire her with different sentiments:—The extraordinary preparations of the House of Bourbon, by land and by sea, from Dunkirk to the Streights, equally ready and willing to overwhelm these defenceless islands, should rouse us to a sense of their real disposition and our own danger. Not five thousand troops in England!—hardly three thousand in Ireland!—What can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies?—Scarcely twenty ships of the line fully or sufficiently manned, that any admiral’s reputation would permit him to take

* See the King’s Speech, page 278.

the command of*,—The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies!—The seas swept by American privateers:—Our channel torn to pieces by them!—In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers,—unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed;—where is the man with the forehead to

* In reply to the noble speaker's assertion relative to the number of ships, &c. the first Lord of the Admiralty rose in his place; and gave their Lordships *official assurance* "that *thirty-five* ships of the line were *then* (Nov. " 20, 1777) compleatly ready; that *seven* more would " be ready in a few weeks; in all FORTY-TWO: and " that an admiral of the most acknowledged merit (he " *then* said) and of the highest reputation, ADMIRAL " KEPPEL, was ready to take the command."—In March 1778, Admiral Keppel went to Portsmouth to take the command. He found "*but six ships ready*," and those in ill condition.—See *defence of Admiral Keppel*.—" On the 30th of June, *twenty ships* of the line were " ready, with which Admiral Keppel sailed. *Thirty-* " *two* ships of the line then lay in Brest water, besides an " incredible number of frigates."—*Ibid.* The English fleet were forced to return, from this vast superiority of this fleet of France.—" A first Lord of the Admiralty, if " he does not take care always to have a fleet superior " to both France and Spain, *deserves to lose his head.*"—
LORD SANDWICH.

promise

promise or hope for success in such a situation? or, from perseverance in the measures that have driven us to it?—Who has the forehead to do so?—Where is that man?—I should be glad to see his face.

“ You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures—you cannot *subdue* her by your present, or by any measures.—What then can you do?—You cannot conquer—you cannot gain—but you can *address*; you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth:—we must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance, or blind complaisance.—In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it:—but in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort nor a single shilling.—I do not call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty—I only recommend to them to make their
retreat,

retreat,—let them walk of;—and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

“ My Lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on your present awful situation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country.—Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the constitution itself, totters to the foundation.—All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long ;—but let us now stop short:—this is the crisis, may be the only crisis *, of time and situation, to
give

* It cannot have escaped observation, with what urgent anxiety the noble speaker has pressed this point throughout his speech; the critical necessity of *instantly* treating with America. But the warning voice was
heard

give us a possibility of escape from the fatal effects of our delusions.—But if in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly, we meanly echo back the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin.—We madly rush into multiplied miseries and “confusion worse confounded.”

Is it possible, can it be believed, that ministers are yet blind to this impending destruction? I did hope, that instead of this false and empty vanity, this overweening pride, engendering high conceits, and presumptuous imaginations,—that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them.—But, my Lords, since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun, these oppressive calamities; since, not even severe experience can

heard in vain: the *Address* triumphed: parliament adjourned: Ministers enjoyed the festive recess of a long Christmas:—and America ratified her alliance with France.

make

make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupor, the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall therefore, my Lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his Majesty, to be inserted immediately after the two first paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a princess;—to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.—This, my Lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wisdom and justice of your Lordships neglect the happy and perhaps the only opportunity.—By the establishment of irrevocable laws, founded on mutual rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated.—And let me repeat to your Lordships, that the strong bias of America, at least of the wiser and sounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and constitutional reconnection with you. Notwithstanding the temporary intrigues with
France,

France, we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us.—America and France cannot be congenial;—there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

“ My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection, as well as consideration of interest—to restore that favourable disposition into a permanent and powerful re-union with this country—to revive the mutual strength of the empire; again to awe the House of Bourbon, instead of meanly truckling, as our present calamities compel us, to every insult of French caprice, and Spanish punctilio—to re-establish our commerce—to re-assert our rights and our honour—to confirm our interests, and renew our glories for ever (a consummation most devoutly to be endeavoured! and which, I trust, may yet arise, from reconciliation with America)—I have the honour of submitting to you the following amendment; which I move to be inserted
after

after the two first paragraphs of the Address :—

“ And that this House does most humbly
“ advise and supplicate his Majesty, to be
“ pleased to cause the most speedy and
“ effectual measures to be taken, for restoring
“ peace in America; and that no time
“ may be lost in proposing an immediate
“ cessation of hostilities there, in order to
“ the opening a treaty for the final settlement
“ of the tranquillity of these invaluable
“ provinces, by a removal of the unhappy
“ causes of this ruinous civil war;
“ and by a just and adequate security against
“ the return of the like calamities in times
“ to come.—And this House desire to offer
“ the most dutiful assurances to his Majesty,
“ that they will, in due time, cheerfully
“ co-operate with the magnanimity and
“ tender goodness of his Majesty, for the
“ preservation of his people, by such explicit
“ and most solemn declarations, and
“ provisions of fundamental and irrevocable
“ laws, as may be judged necessary for the
“ ascertaining and fixing for ever the re-
“ spective

“pective rights of Great-Britain and her
“Colonies.”

In the course of the Debate, Lord Suffolk, secretary of state for the northern department, undertook to defend the employment of the Indians in the war. His Lordship contended, that, besides its *policy* and *necessity*, the measure was also allowable on *principle*; for that “it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means
“that *God and Nature put into our hands.*”

“I AM ASTONISHED!”——(exclaimed LORD CHATHAM as he rose)——“shocked—to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed—in this house, or in this country:—principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian!”

“My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty:—My Lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as

men, as Christian-men, to protest against such notions standing near the throne—polluting the ear of Majesty!—"That God and Nature put into our hands!"—I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and Nature; but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles!—Such horrible notions shock every sentiment of honour;—they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

"These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon the *right reverend* bench, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of our church:—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of *this learned* bench, to defend and support the

the justice of their country.—I call upon the Bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn;—upon the learned Judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution:—I call upon the honour of your Lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own:—I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character.—I invoke the genius of the Constitution!—From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble Lord *, frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country.—In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the *Protestant religion* of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of popery, and the inquisition—if these more than popish cruelties, and inquisitional practices are let loose among us;—to turn forth into our

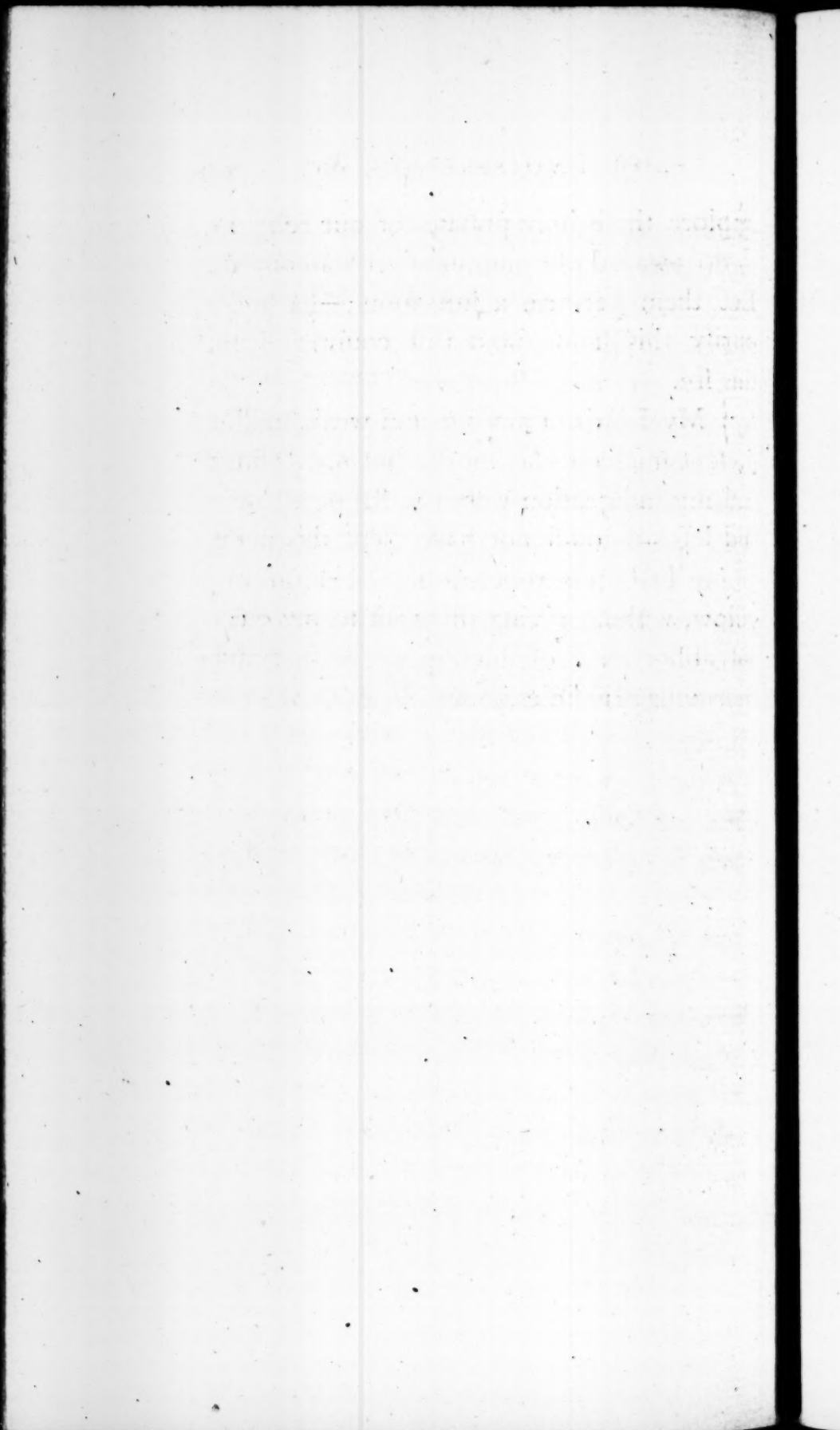
* Lord Effingham.—Lord Effingham Howard was Lord High Admiral of England against the Spanish Armada; the destruction of which is represented in the tapestry.

fettlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child ! to send forth the infidel savage,—against whom? — against your protestant brethren:—to lay waste their country—to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name; with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war!—*hell-hounds, I say, of savage war.* Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America;—and we improve on the inhuman example of Spanish cruelty—we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion; endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity.

“ My Lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry: and I again call upon your Lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of publick abhorrence. And I again
implore

implore those holy prelates of our religion, to do away those iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration ;—let them purify this house, and this country, from this sin.

“ My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more ; but my feelings and my indignation were too strong to have said less.—I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.”



MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

MISCELLANEOUS FORMS.

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MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

To PORTIA on her NATAL DAY.

IF poetry is best inspir'd by love,
And *amorous* numbers most harmonious
move,

If tender feelings form the tender song—
Let me be rank'd the tend'rest bards among.
For oh! not Ovid more delighted dwelt
On Chloe's charms, nor more enraptur'd felt
Their soft'ning pow'r--nor Horace' tender lays
More truly mov'd in Lydia's classic praise;
Not Cowley's self more amorously own'd
Fair Amoret's sway, with every beauty
crown'd;

Than I my Fanny's virtuous charms adore,
Their praise confess, and own their soft'ning
pow'r.

—Tho' my untutor'd muse in vain aspires
On youthful wing to catch the rapt'rous fires
Which

Which warm'd *their* glowing fancy; yet my
theme

Superior shall inspire a purer flame.—

Come, holy Hymen! vindicate your sway,
And teach inferior powers to obey:

With sacred strains thy votarist inspire,
Duly to celebrate thy hallow'd fire:

Teach him to sing, that Chloe's wanton arms,
That Lydia's beauty, and fair Amoret's charms
Without thy holy sanction, wanted pow'r;
—Inconstant gew-gaws,—play-things of an
hour:

Teach him to shew the virtuous joys which
bless

Thy hallow'd reign—pure peace and happi-
ness:

Teach him his Fanny's conduct to proclaim;
—Her conduct and thy praises are the same.—

Divinest virtues,—genuine growth of heav'n!
To her in fullest excellence are given:

Sincere and just, she knows not to deceive;

Piercing and wise, she knows when to believe:

Humane and soft, she feels for others' woe;

Gen'rous and free, her joy is to bestow;—

Gentle and mild, she fears to give offence,

But firm and bold, in honour's just defence:

Rare

Rare union of such virtues! happiest he
 Who calls them his, in sweet society!—
 Learn hence, ye rakes;—the greatest good
 of life
 Is such a woman—such a virtuous wife.—
 —Oh may this happy morn full oft return!
 Constant may Hymen's choicest torches burn
 To light it on! may many future days
 Thus happily demand my grateful praise!
 —And may all-bounteous Heav'n, whose
 gracious power
 Form'd thee to bless,—still bless thy latest
 hour,
 Crown thee with years, with affluence, and
 ease—
 Then gently waft thee to eternal peace!

To Miss CH——TTE A——N.

THO' Friendship's sacred name is oft mis-
 us'd,
 Its mask assum'd, and its intent abus'd;
Let

Let not my friend mistrust my simple phrase;
 Nor think that flattery, which is barely praise.
 As the kind gard'ner, with unceasing care,
 From threat'ning storms, and the inclement
 —air,

Protects his tender plants—beneath his hand
 Complete they rise and flourish in the land—
 So, if in early youth some seeds of worth
 Lay in my mind, thy influence brought them
 forth;

Tho' not implanted, they were rear'd by you,
 And cherish'd by your nurture, kindlier grew:
 By your example animated, warm'd;
 My greener youth to virtue's path was form'd;
 And if hereafter in maturer days
 I may pretend to aught that merits praise,
 Let it be given where it is justly due,
 And all my merit be deriv'd from you.

An EPILOGUE

Spoken by a Young Lady, after the Performance of the Tragedy of DOUGLAS, at a private Theatre.

I ask Miss Rosey's pardon—'tis not so;
I could not sure so unpolitely go
Without a curt'sie—"Plunge i'th' empty air!"
Lord, how it makes a modern widow stare.
Our more substantial—not less fatal—flights,
Aspire not to those odious rocky heights;
In Pleasure's lower region we take wing,
Not a dead Lord—a loving Slave's the thing.
And though we give ourselves some "empty
airs,"

They're not from rocks—but boxes above
stairs.

Such is the modern drama of the time,
A whimsy, tragi-comic pantomime;
Where clowns and changelings net the fore-
most parts,
And where Love's plot! alas! is hands—
not hearts.

But hold,—sententious satire ill befits
A Miss, just, at your service, in her teens.

Far

Far more delighted, she with rapture tells,
 With grateful rapture, what around her dwells.
 The happy scenes, where "Love makes
 duty light;"

Where shines confest, Matilda of to-night.
 Maternal shines, whilst in their sphere of love,
 Her little satellites around her move.
 Blest with her bright example, we aspire,
 To catch the sparks of Virtue's sacred fire.
 The thought that elevates, the hope that glows
 With lively sympathy, the heart that knows
 No other pain, than other's pains create,
 No purer joy than friends participate.

A PROLOGUE

*Spoken at the opening of a private Theatre
 in Ireland.*

WHILST Shakespeare's name our sister-
 nation fills,

Shall we not write: shall we not use our quills?
 Our kingdom boasts a hero as divine,
 Swift of St. Patrick's, a great friend of mine.—

O sacred

O sacred shade! inspire thy humble friend;
Let not thy love with thy existence end.
So shall my verse recount, in numbers fit,
Thy humour, drollery, and waggish wit.—
With gaping mouth how have I list'ning stood,
(Albeit unused to the laughing mood)
When you would complaisantly condescend
To crack a joke and bottle with your friend;
Thou first of jokers! glory of this Isle!
That couldst even me * provoke sometimes
to smile!

Since thou hast left us, joy and joke are o'er,
All Ireland weeps,—and I shall smile no
more.—

But not to mirth and jest alone confin'd,
Thy Country's love inspir'd thy noble mind:
When Wood attempted with audacious hand
To spread his baleful *halfpence* o'er the land,
Thy watchful genius instant took th' alarm,
And crush'd the traitor with revengeful arm;

* Mr. Paragraph, the Speaker, is remarkable, among other things, for a most invincible inflexibility of muscles, from which he was never known to deviate, unless, as he says himself, "provoked thereto by the humour of the
"Dean."

And

And just thy vengeance; to such boldness due;
Sure never man such wild ambition knew;
To hope such imposition e'er could pass!
In *Ireland* to disperse his *spurious* brags!
Where every day *the true* stands full confessed,
Bright in each forehead, burnish'd on each
crest:
But soon thy genius trac'd the base allay,
And sent the coiner *penny*-less away.—
Such wit and humour, with such sense combin'd,
Perplex and puzzle the admiring mind;
We know not which we should most highly
praise,
Thy mighty talents—or soft winning ways;
Thy spirit never dies, thy wit ne'er flags,
Thou first of Patriots! and thou first of
Wags!

*To Mrs. BOYD, in England, from H. BOYD
in Bengal, with his PICTURE,—22d of
Oct. 1785.*

IF true to Nature, imitative Art
Could in the faithful features paint the heart,
With genuine force give the warm wish to
glow—

The constant sigh to heave—the tear to flow;
And all the mix'd emotions fully blend
Of lover, husband, guardian, father, friend:
Then should this canvas proudly claim your
care,

For truth and tenderness would triumph there.
But since no Art can such sensations trace,
Since even Nature hardly gives the face
All that the heart can feel,—be thine, my
love,

Kindly to view and fondly to improve.
And as you first th' Original inspir'd
With real passion, and with rapture fir'd,
So let the Copy meet your fav'ring eyes,
And Sympathy supply what Art denies.

*On the Performance of selected sacred Music,
for the Benefit of the MALE ASYLUM, at Madras.*

HEARD ye not the solemn strain?
Hark!—the awful sounds again!
Still through the quiv'ring air they float,
Each varied, lengthen'd, melting note:
Now in resistless majesty they roll,
Now thrilling through the heart, exalting
now the soul.

O magic charms, whose potent sway,
Or fires to rage, or melts to tears,
Whose power the passions all obey,
Love, hate, joy, grief, warm hopes, chill
fears:
Hail mighty power of all-commanding song!
Sweet as the vernal breeze, as the high billow strong.

When from thy native heavenly sphere,
Descending on the mortal ear
Thou pour'st the full extatic strain,
Rapture borders upon pain,—

When

When from the awful pause—again the full
notes meet,
Almost for sense too strong, too exquisitely
sweet.

Can Musick's charms more powerful move
Than tun'd to glory, or to love?
Than in warm friendship's generous glow?
Than in soft pity's tender woe?
Yes—a sublimer theme our ear demands,
And the best passions of the soul commands.

O CHARITY! thou Christian grace!
Parent of good! of heavenly race!
Uniting in thy sacred call
Love, friendship, pity, glory,—all;
Lo! at thy fostering shrine, with uplift hands,
The poor, the helpless, infant orphan stands!

Pious Orgies strike our ear!
Angels bow from heaven to hear;
Sound again the hallow'd lays—
Again the HALLELUJAHs raise—
To notes of heavenly rapture touch the lyre,
The Orphan's grateful voice shall fill the choir.

When from the awful brink—
When from the awful brink—
When from the awful brink—
When from the awful brink—

Can I think of change, or of the
Then come to glory, or to
I shall be with friendship—
Then in this pure world
Yes—a father there—
And the best passions of the soul command.

O Christian! thou Christian grace!
Parent of good! of heavenly race!
Uniting in thy sacred call
Love, and joy—all—
Let us be all with up to
The poor the orphan the



From every flock of
Angels how from
Sound again the
Again the
In none of
The Orphan's